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Jo. W. Bowles.

HISTORY

OF THE

STATE OF COLORADO

EMBRACING ACCOUNTS OF THE

PRE-HISTORIC RACES AND THEIR REMAINS; THE EARLIEST SPANISH, FRENCH AND
AMERICAN EXPLORATIONS; THE LIVES OF THE PRIMITIVE HUNTERS, TRAP-
PERS AND TRADERS; THE COMMERCE OF THE PRAIRIES; THE FIRST
AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS FOUNDED; THE ORIGINAL DISCOVERIES
OF GOLD IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS; THE DEVELOPMENT
OF CITIES AND TOWNS, WITH THE VARIOUS PHASES
OF INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL TRANSITION,
FROM 1858 TO 1890.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

ILLUSTRATED.

Vol. I

BY

FRANK HALL,

FOR THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN HISTORICAL COMPANY.

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Every earnest endeavor to trace out the archæology of Colorado, will inevitably lead to an investigation of the prehistoric races and conditions of the American continent. About all the light we have concerning the peculiar race which ages ago occupied a portion of the southwestern division of our State, lies in the very full and extremely interesting reports rendered by Holmes and Jackson of the United States Geological Survey, and published in Prof. F. V. Hayden's report of 1876, which, together with the opinions of eminent ethnologists who have given close attention to the subject, have been freely quoted in the following pages wherein our ancient beginnings are epitomized. It is well to state in this connection, that the manuscript of the first five chapters of this work was submitted to, and approved by Mr. Jackson, who has been for some years an honored resident of Denver. As to the character of the people who built the remarkable structures described, and the ethnical relations of the modern Pueblos to them, it is a fair presumption that we derive some knowledge of their civilization, habits, customs, industries and home life, from the writings of Castañeda, the historian of Coronado's expedition, for it may be assumed that the natives whom he met were much the same in matters of habit and modes of living as their ancestors, who first occupied the region. It would be superfluous to discuss the question of their antiquity here,

since the best conclusions of ethnological science thus far developed, have been given in the text.

What may be termed the ante-historic period of our State, is made up of the scraps and fragments of information that have been handed down to us respecting the original Spanish, French and American explorations of the plains and mountains, the lives, trails, trading posts and the commerce incident to the times of the primitive hunters and trappers, to which considerable space has been devoted, in the hope that they will not be found the least interesting portion of these chronicles.

The modern historic period opens with the expedition of the Cherokees, accompanied by Green Russell and party from Georgia, and the record of their prospecting for gold along the tributaries of the Platte River, which is the beginning of American occupation of the Rocky Mountain region, and formed the base of our settlement here. The first dozen years of this record is but the relation of the trying experiences of the pioneers in their heroic efforts to establish a permanent foothold upon the soil, by the discovery and utilization of its natural resources. The annals of the Territory from 1859 to 1872, comprise the discoveries of the gold hunters and the progress of the chief settlements created by the miscellaneous immigration which followed the disclosures made by George A. Jackson, John Gregory and Green Russell, wars with the aborigines, and political transitions. Many towns and camps that were prominent centers of activity during the first five years have been wholly eliminated through abandonment and decay, while others, principally those founded in the agricultural divisions, have grown strong, rich and powerful, through the fruitage of wisely directed husbandry.

The plan of this work is to pursue in chronological order, the events attending the development of our commonwealth, from the earliest times down to the present, in order to insure comprehensive completeness of detail. Let it be borne in mind that there was no Leadville until

1878-9; that the great mines of the San Juan country were not peopled until 1871; that until 1871 Denver contained less than five thousand inhabitants, and the Territory less than fifty thousand; that Pueblo, Trinidad, Cañon City, Boulder and Golden City were but small and feeble settlements; that Colorado Springs, Manitou, Greeley, Fort Collins, Longmont, Las Animas, Buena Vista, Silver Cliff, Montrose, Grand Junction and many other towns that have acquired gratifying prominence since 1870 were until then unknown, and some of them undreamt of, and that therefore the first volume of our history which closes with 1872, is necessarily largely confined to the movements and developments transpiring at points of greatest lodgment and industrial prominence. The design in extending our work through four volumes instead of condensing it into one or two, was to insure space enough for every record which properly belongs to the legitimate chronicles of the country, and when these shall have been exhausted, to find a place for interesting reminiscences and personal reviews of the strong hearted men who founded and have been conspicuous in building the State.

Our aim at the outset was to search for a beginning somewhere, and then trace the multifarious lines and threads down through their various channels to the present time, so that the historian of the future who shall write of the first generation long after it has passed into the interminable list of the forgotten, may have the most accurate guide which could be furnished during the lifetime of those who planted the seeds of civilization here. I am fully aware of the fact that in the conscientious pursuit of this purpose it will be necessary to collate the annals of every town and county in modern Colorado, and it is to this that the larger part of the second and third volumes will be devoted, so that the people of every section may feel that they have been treated fairly and impartially.

The second volume, which it is anticipated will be published not

later than September next, will open with an exhaustive treatise on the ancient fossil remains that have been so widely distributed over many portions of Colorado, and the mining geology of the principal districts that are now pouring their treasures into the coffers of the nation, prepared by Prof. R. C. Hills, late president of the Colorado Scientific Society, and now the most eminent authority on those subjects in the State. This division of our work has been deferred for the reason that until well within the last decade the more important revelations of science respecting the geological structure of the Rocky Mountains and the great mineral deposits found in them had not been disclosed, nor had the great mining sections of Summit and the South Park, Leadville, Aspen, the San Juan, or those of Gilpin, Clear Creek and Boulder been subjected to more than cursory investigation. What has been determined in regard to them by the most learned and skillful investigators who have labored patiently, intelligently and continuously to solve the great problems before them in geological and metallurgical science, will then be very fully set forth.

The general history relating to political, industrial and commercial advancement will be continued as heretofore, and upon substantially the same plan as herein defined. Much of the matter for the next volume has been prepared. A list containing the officers and members of every Territorial and State Legislature from 1861 to 1889 inclusive, with the first messages of Governor R. W. Steele and William Gilpin, both interesting relics of the olden time; the officers and members of the several constitutional conventions; the mayors and councils of Denver from 1861 to 1889; the diary of Geo. A. Jackson written in 1858-9—and relating the daily events attending the discovery of gold made by him on Vasquez Fork, together with the names of more than five hundred of the pioneers in the Pike's Peak region, will be made a part of the appendix to that volume.

The selection of portraits has been made with especial reference to the identification of the individuals with the historic events in which they were the principal actors or participators, in the belief that this plan will be more satisfactory than miscellaneous distribution without regard to fitness. This design will in future be varied by the introduction of some fine scenic views of picturesque farms and ranches, and noted points in the mountains.

In conclusion I take infinite pleasure in publicly acknowledging my indebtedness to Capt. E. L. Berthoud for interesting notes of the itinerary of Padres Escalante and Garcia ; of De Bourgmont's expedition to Kansas, and facts relating to the early Spanish explorations ; to Col. J. M. Chivington for the very complete annals of the First Regiment Colorado Volunteers ; to General George West for important memoranda added to Berthoud's sketch of the Second Regiment ; to Wm. N. Byers for files of the Rocky Mountain "News" from 1859 to 1867 ; for his careful reading and just criticism of all manuscript prepared for this volume, and for many valuable notes and additions ; to George A. Jackson for the use of his diary of 1858-9, containing the particulars of his travels through the country in that time ; to W. H. Jackson, Governor Alva Adams, Capt. J. J. Lambert, editor of the Pueblo "Chief-tain," and Halsey M. Rhoads for valuable old books loaned me ; and to General Edward L. Bartlett and Librarian Allison of Santa Fé, for much interesting data relating to early Spanish expeditions which form a part of the ancient archives of the city of Holy Faith, and finally to Mr. Charles R. Dudley, Librarian of the Chamber of Commerce, for innumerable favors in aid of the collection of important data. With this hasty introduction, the first volume of our History of Colorado is respectfully submitted, by

THE AUTHOR.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

1528 TO 1542. EXPEDITION OF PAMFILIO NARVAEZ—LANDING AT TAMPA BAY—EXPLO-
RATIONS INLAND—ABANDONED BY THE FLEET,—WRECK OF THEIR BOATS—CABEZA
DE VACA AND HIS COMPANIONS THROWN UPON THE COAST OF LOUISIANA—ENSLAVE-
MENT BY THE INDIANS—THEIR ESCAPE AFTER SIX YEARS—JOURNEY ACROSS THE
CONTINENT—INDIAN TRIBES MET WITH EN ROUTE—EXPERIENCES AMONG THE PU-
EBLOS, OR TOWN-DWELLING PEOPLES—FIRST MEETING WITH SPANISH TROOPS—EFFECT
OF DE VACA'S ADVENTURES UPON THE CONQUERORS OF MEXICO—CONQUEST OF FLC-
RIDA BY DE SOTO—TRAILS OF FIRE AND BLOOD—DEATH OF DE SOTO—LOUIS MOSCO-
SQ'S MARCH TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS. - - - - - 17

CHAPTER II.

1530 TO 1540. EXPEDITIONS FROM THE SOUTHWEST—FRIAR MARCOS DE NIZA AND HIS
GUIDE, ESTEVANICO—CORONADO'S MARCH TO THE SEVEN WONDERFUL CITIES OF
CIBOLA—DESCRIPTION OF THE INHABITANTS, THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS, MANNERS
AND CUSTOMS—RESISTANCE TO THE INVADERS—DESTRUCTION AND SLAUGHTER
—PARTIAL CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY—INEFFECTUAL SEARCH FOR THE
MYTHICAL CITY OF QUIVIRA—DISCOVERY OF THE GRAND CANYON OF THE
COLORADO—THE CLIFF DWELLERS, THEIR CHARACTER, HABITS AND HOMES—
TRAVERSING THE PLAINS OF KANSAS—RETURN OF THE ARMY TO MEXICO—THE
AUTHOR'S VISIT TO THE PUEBLOS—INTERVIEW WITH A VENERABLE CACIQUE—
SOME OLD MANUSCRIPTS—PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS OF THESE PECULIAR PEOPLE. 27

CHAPTER III.

THE RUINS IN SOUTHWESTERN COLORADO—DESCRIPTIONS BY HOLMES AND JACKSON OF
THE U. S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY—NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE CLIFF AND CAVE
DWELLINGS—HOW THEY WERE BUILT—ENORMOUS LABOR INVOLVED—REMAINS OF
THE RIO MANCOS, THE SAN JUAN, DOLORES, CHELLEY, AND IN CHACO CANYON—DIS-
COVERIES AMONG THE RUINS—INDIAN PICTOGRAPHY—COMPARISON OF ANCIENT

CONTENTS.

ix

AND MODERN ARCHITECTURE—ANTIQUITY OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR PROBABLE
ORIGIN—AZTEC TRADITIONS—RECENT DISCOVERY OF SIMILAR TOWNS AND PEOPLE
IN MOROCCO. - - - - - 40

CHAPTER IV.

OUR PREHISTORIC RACES—ETHNOLOGICAL REVELATIONS—ANCIENT INHABITANTS AND
THEIR WORKS—SOME HIGHLY INTERESTING DISCOVERIES—OPINIONS OF SCIENTISTS—
EACH CONTINENT MAY HAVE PRODUCED ITS OWN RACE—OLD THEORIES OF ORIG-
INAL MIGRATIONS OVERTURNED BY THE EXHUMATION OF HUMAN REMAINS AT GREAT
DEPTHS—THE LIGHT OF MODERN INVESTIGATION LEADS TO STARTLING CONCLU-
SIONS—DISCOVERY OF THE MOUND BUILDERS—EMIGRATION OF THE ANCIENT RACES
WESTWARD—DESCENT OF THE AZTECS FROM THE NORTHWEST UPON THE TOLTECS
OF MEXICO—THE BUILDERS OF THE SPLENDID TEMPLES IN YUCATAN—ANTIQUITY
OF MAN UPON THE CONTINENT OF AMERICA. - - - 59

CHAPTER V.

INDIAN CHARACTER, TRADITIONS, AND RELIGIOUS IMPRESSIONS—THE ANCIENT AZTECS
AND MODERN PUEBLOS—WERE THE RUINS IN COLORADO OF AZTEC OR TOLTEC DE-
VELOPMENT?—LEGEND OF THE EXPULSION OF THE CLIFF DWELLERS FROM THE SAN
JUAN MOUNTAINS, AND THEIR DISPERSION THROUGH NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA—
REMOTE ANTIQUITY OF THESE RUINS—VAST POPULATION OF THE ANCIENT TOWNS—
TRADITIONS OF THE MOQUIS AND ZUNIS—PRIMEVAL RESERVOIRS AND IRRIGATION—
BEAUTY AND COMPREHENSIVENESS OF THE AZTEC LANGUAGE. - - 74

CHAPTER VI.

1582 TO 1806. REVIVAL OF EXPLORATIONS FROM MEXICO—THE EXPEDITION OF DON
JUAN DE ONATE—COLONIZATION OF NEW MEXICO—DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN THE
SAN LUIS VALLEY—MARCHES OF ONATE AND PENALOSA TO THE MISSOURI RIVER—
FRENCH EXPEDITIONS FROM NEW ORLEANS—THE PILGRIMAGE OF FATHERS ESCA-
LANTE AND GARCIA TO THE SAN JUAN MOUNTAINS, AND THROUGH VARIOUS PARTS
OF COLORADO—THE EXPLORATIONS OF LIEUT. ZEBULON M. PIKE AND HIS CAPTURE
BY THE SPANIARDS—THE FIRST DISCOVERER OF GOLD ON THE UPPER ARKANSAS—
ORIGINAL AMERICAN VISITORS TO THIS REGION. - - - 85

CHAPTER VII.

1812 TO 1840—ROBERT STEWART'S JOURNEY FROM CALIFORNIA—MAJOR LONG'S
EXPLORATIONS—ASCENT OF PIKE'S PEAK—ORIGIN OF THE COMMERCE OF THE
PRAIRIES—THE OLD SANTA FE TRAIL—THE GREAT TEXAS-SANTA FE EXPEDITION

CAPTURED BY DIMASIO SALEZAR—AMERICAN FUR COMPANIES AND NOTED PIONEERS	
—GEN. ASHLEY—CAPT. BONNEVILLE—DECLINE OF THE FUR TRADE AND ITS CAUSES	
—THE PRIMITIVE HUNTERS AND TRAPPERS, THEIR HABITS AND CHARACTER.	99

CHAPTER VIII.

1840 TO 1853—COL. FREMONT'S FIVE EXPEDITIONS TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS—	
GUIDED BY KIT CARSON—ADVENTURES IN THE WIND RIVER AND SANGRE DE	
CRISTO RANGES—OLD PARSON BILL WILLIAMS—CAMPING ON THE PRESENT SITE	
OF DENVER—ST. VRAIN'S FORT—OLD PUEBLO—VISITING THE BOILING SPRINGS AT	
MANITOU—TERRIBLE EXPERIENCES IN CROSSING THE MOUNTAINS—ARRIVAL AT	
TAOS—PURPOSE OF THE EXPEDITIONS—PACIFIC RAILWAYS FORESHADOWED—	
PUBLIC REJOICING IN ST. LOUIS. - - - - -	114

CHAPTER IX.

1846 to 1857—OUTBREAK OF THE MEXICAN WAR—DONIPHAN'S EXPEDITION—DARING	
EXPLOITS OF MAJOR WILLIAM GILPIN—PURSUIT OF INDIANS IN THE SAN JUAN	
MOUNTAINS—SURVEYS FOR A PACIFIC RAILROAD—CAPT. GUNNISON'S EXPEDITION	
AND ITS TRAGIC ENDING—CAPT. MARCY'S MIDWINTER MARCH FROM FORT	
BRIDGER TO FORT MASSACHUSETTS—TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS—CAMPING AT MANI-	
TOU AND DENVER—DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN CHERRY CREEK. - - -	128

CHAPTER X.

LIVES OF THE HUNTERS AND TRAPPERS—THEIR PART IN THE HISTORY OF OUR	
COUNTRY—BRIDGER, BAKER, GOODALE, SUBLETTE AND FITZPATRICK—SIR GEORGE	
GORE AND HIS MIGHTY RETINUE—BAKER'S FIGHT WITH GRIZZLIES—TORN BY A	
REPEATING RIFLE—KIT CARSON'S WONDERFUL CAREER—EPITOME OF HIS LIFE	
AND CHARACTER. - - - - -	146

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORIC SETTLEMENTS IN COLORADO BETWEEN 1826 AND 1858—ARRIVAL OF THE	
BENTS AND ST. VRAIN—FIRST STOCKADE ON THE ARKANSAS AND TRADING POSTS	
SUBSEQUENTLY ERECTED—TRAFFIC AMONG THE INDIANS—TRAGIC DEATH OF	
CHARLES BENT—SETTLEMENTS ON ADOBE CREEK AND THE GREENHORN—THE OLD	
PUEBLO FORT—INDIAN MASSACRE—FORT MASSACHUSETTS—POSTS IN NORTHERN	
COLORADO—VASQUEZ, LUPTON AND ST. VRAIN—INDIAN TRIBES OF THE PLAINS,	
THEIR ORIGIN AND MIGRATIONS. - - - - -	162

CHAPTER XII.

THE PANIC OF 1857—EMIGRATION TO THE WEST—DISCOVERIES OF GOLD IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS FROM 1595 TO 1860—GREEN RUSSELL AND THE CHEROKEES—PROSPECTING THE TRIBUTARIES OF THE PLATTE—THE FOUNDING OF MONTANA, COLORADO CITY, AURARIA, BOULDER AND DENVER—STATE OF SOCIETY—FIRST MOVEMENT FOR POLITICAL ORGANIZATION—FOUNDING OF THE "ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS." - 173

CHAPTER XIII.

1858-9—PROGRESS OF MINING ON THE PLAINS—STEADY INCREMENT OF POPULATION—GEORGE A. JACKSON'S DISCOVERY ON CHICAGO CREEK—EXPLORATIONS OF THE VALLEY—JOHN H. GREGORY'S GREAT FIND ON THE NORTH FORK OF VASQUEZ RIVER—D. K. WALL'S EXPERIMENTS IN AGRICULTURE—VISIT OF HORACE GREELEY—FRUITS OF THE FIRST SEASON'S WORK—DISCOVERY OF RUSSELL'S GULCH—A. D. GAMBELL'S NARRATIVE—GOLD IN BOULDER AND THE SOUTH PARK—STAMP MILLS—NEWSPAPERS—MINING LAWS. - - - - - 186

CHAPTER XIV.

1859—ATTEMPTS TO INSTITUTE SOCIAL AND CIVIL ORDER—MOVEMENT FOR STATE ORGANIZATION—CONSTITUTION REJECTED—ELECTION OF E. D. WILLIAMS TO CONGRESS—THE TERRITORY OF JEFFERSON—PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—LEAVENWORTH AND PIKE'S PEAK EXPRESS—AMOS STECK AND THE U. S. MAILS—DUEL BETWEEN R. E. WHITSITT AND PARK M'CLURE—INCEPTION OF WHEAT CULTURE—PROF. O. J. GOLDRICK—FOUNDING OF SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES—APPEAL TO CONGRESS FOR A STABLE GOVERNMENT—PEOPLE'S COURTS—HOW THE MINERS PUNISHED CRIMINALS—LAWLESSNESS IN DENVER. - - - 206

CHAPTER XV.

CANON CITY, GOLDEN. BOULDER, HAMILTON, FAIRPLAY, AND OTHER TOWNS IN 1859—MR. LOVELAND'S PROJECT FOR A RAILWAY THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS—HORACE GREELEY'S INVOLUNTARY BATH—ADVENTURES OF BOULDER'S PIONEERS WITH LEFT HAND AND BEAR HEAD—INDIAN PROPHECY—MINING ON VASQUEZ, IN THE SOUTH, AND ON THE BLUE—MOUNTAIN CITY—PACIFIC RAILWAY LEGISLATION—INFLUENCE OF SETTLEMENT IN COLORADO UPON THAT MEASURE. - - 223

CHAPTER XVI.

1860—PROGRESS OF DENVER—CRYSTALIZATION OF BUSINESS—A CHAPTER OF HORRORS—DUEL BETWEEN LEW BLISS AND DR. STONE—ROMANTIC TRAGEDY IN FAIRPLAY—TOM WARREN CHALLENGES W. N. BYERS—CHARLEY HARRISON—JOHN SCUDDER KILLS P. T. BASSETT—BLOODY CAREER OF JAMES A. GORDON—FEARFUL RIOT IN LEAVENWORTH—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF GORDON—CARROLL WOOD'S ATTACK ON THE "NEWS" OFFICE—KILLING OF STEELE—EXPATRIATION OF THE GANG OF OUTLAWS.	233
--	-----

CHAPTER XVII.

1860—MEASURES FOR ORGANIZING THE TERRITORY—DIFFICULTY IN SELECTING A TITLE—VARIOUS NAMES PROPOSED—PROGRESS OF THE BILL IN CONGRESS—EFFORTS OF SCHUYLER COLFAX IN OUR BEHALF—OPPOSITION OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS DEFEATS THE BILL—POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN COLORADO—RETURN OF DELEGATE WILLIAMS—CONSOLIDATION OF AURARIA AND DENVER—HEAVY IMMIGRATION—DISCOVERY OF GOLD ON THE ARKANSAS RIVER—CALIFORNIA GULCH—INDIAN FORAYS—THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT—ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY—D. H. MOFFAT JR.—JOHN M. CHIVINGTON—CLARK & GRUBER'S COINAGE MINT—U. S. MAILS—DISCOVERY OF SILVER.	244
--	-----

CHAPTER XVIII.

1861—ORGANIZATION OF THE TERRITORY OF COLORADO—DEBATES IN THE SENATE AND HOUSE—OVERSHADOWING INFLUENCE OF THE SLAVERY QUESTION—STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS VEHEMENTLY OPPOSES THE BILL—SYNOPSIS OF HIS ARGUMENTS—PASSAGE OF THE ORGANIC ACT—OFFICERS APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN—ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR GILPIN—PUBLIC MEETINGS—CENSUS OF THE POPULATION—ORGANIZATION OF THE SUPREME COURT—BENCH AND BAR—UNION OR DISUNION—MOBILIZATION OF TROOPS—GILPIN'S DRAFTS ON THE NATIONAL TREASURY—THEIR FINAL PAYMENT—BIOGRAPHY OF OUR FIRST GOVERNOR.	258
---	-----

CHAPTER XIX.

1861-1862—ACTIVITY OF THE SECESSIONISTS—PLOT TO CAPTURE COLORADO AND NEW MEXICO—ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST REGIMENT COLORADO VOLUNTEERS—ITS MARCH TO FORT UNION—BATTLES OF APACHE CANON AND PIGEON'S RANCH—GALLANT EXPLOITS OF MAJOR CHIVINGTON—SLOUGH'S RESIGNATION—CHIVINGTON APPOINTED TO COMMAND—HIS ABILITY AS A LEADER—SERVICE RENDERED BY CAPTAINS DODD AND FORD—M'LAIN'S BATTERY.	275
--	-----

CONTENTS.

xiii

CHAPTER XX.

1862-1864—STATE OF POLITICAL FEELING—BENNETT AND GILPIN CANDIDATES FOR CONGRESS—BENNETT'S SERVICES TO THE TERRITORY—OPENING THE BRANCH MINT—REMOVAL OF THE CAPITAL TO COLORADO CITY—COL. JESSE H. LEAVENWORTH—HISTORY OF THE SECOND AND THIRD REGIMENTS OF COLORADO VOLUNTEERS—DENVER SWEEP BY FIRE—THE CONSTRUCTION OF TELEGRAPH LINES—MAYOR STECK'S MESSAGE—A STALWART SENTIMENT FROM THE PACIFIC SLOPE—PROTRACTED DROUTH FOLLOWED BY A SEVERE WINTER—THE RAPID RISE OF GOLD—SALE OF COLORADO MINES IN NEW YORK—THE GREAT FLOOD IN CHERRY CREEK—THE STATE MOVEMENT OF 1864—REJECTION OF THE CONSTITUTION. 289

CHAPTER XXI.

1864—INVASION OF THE SOUTH PARK BY TEXAN GUERRILLAS—THEIR PURSUIT, CAPTURE AND SUMMARY EXECUTION—TITLES TO MINING PROPERTY—GOVERNOR EVANS BEGINS A MOVEMENT FOR THE EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT OF MINERS' RIGHTS—PROCEEDINGS IN WASHINGTON TO EXTRACT REVENUE FROM THE MINES BY DIRECT TAXATION—THE VARIOUS SCHEMES PROPOSED—GEORGE W. JULIAN'S BILL—FERNANDO WOOD'S RESOLUTION TO EXPEL THE MINERS—THE INCEPTION OF A LONG SERIES OF INDIAN WARS—REVIEW OF THE EVENTS WHICH CULMINATED IN THE BATTLE OF SAND CREEK—MAJOR WYNKOOP'S VISIT TO BLACK KETTLE'S CAMP—RESCUE OF WHITE PRISONERS—GOVERNOR EVANS' CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE AUTHORITIES IN WASHINGTON. - - - 313

CHAPTER XXII.

1864 CONTINUED—AWFUL CRUELITIES PRACTICED BY INDIANS UPON THEIR CAPTIVES—HORRIBLE TREATMENT OF WHITE WOMEN—STAKED OUT AND RAVISHED—MEN TORTURED AND BURNED—COUNCIL WITH BLACK KETTLE AND OTHER CHIEFS AT CAMP WELD—GOVERNOR EVANS TURNS THEM OVER TO THE MILITARY—COLONEL CHIVINGTON'S ULTIMATUM—THEIR RETURN TO THE ARKANSAS RIVER—PROCEEDINGS AT FORT LYON—WYNKOOP SUPERSEDED BY SCOTT J. ANTHONY—FURTHER CONFERENCES WITH THE INDIANS—SOME HISTORICAL ERRORS CORRECTED—THIRD REGIMENT OF COLORADO CAVALRY—ITS MARCH TO FORT LYON—THE BATTLE OF SAND CREEK—CRITICISM OF CHIVINGTON'S ORDERS. - 336

CHAPTER XXIII.

1865—GEN. P. E. CONNOR—DEATH OF MAJOR JOHN S. FILLMORE—HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER—EFFECTS OF THE SAND CREEK MASSACRE—RENEWAL OF THE WAR

—FURTHER APPEALS FOR TROOPS—COLONEL MOONLIGHT DECLARES MARTIAL LAW—MILITIA CALLED OUT—DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY—BANKS AND BANKING—FOUNDING OF THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK—CHAFFEE AND MOFFAT—ARRIVAL OF SCHUYLER COLFAX—MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN TO THE MINERS OF THE WEST—THE PACIFIC RAILROAD—REVIVAL OF THE STATE MOVEMENT—CONSTITUTION RATIFIED—SAND CREEK AN ELEMENT IN THE CAMPAIGN—NEGRO SUFFRAGE—ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR CUMMINGS—A TURBULENT ADMINISTRATION—ROUNDING UP THE TERRITORIAL OFFICERS—HIS ATTACK ON SECRETARY ELBERT—SOME RACY CORRESPONDENCE—ALIENATING THE JEWS—A SEASON OF BITTER POLITICAL WARFARE—ELBERT RESIGNS, AND THE AUTHOR IS APPOINTED TO SUCCEED HIM—FEARFUL SCENES IN SOUTH PARK—THE BLOODY ESPINOSAS.	357
---	-----

CHAPTER XXIV.

1866—STATE BILLS BEFORE CONGRESS—SECOND VETO—ATTEMPTED BARGAIN WITH EVANS AND CHAFFEE—ORGANIC ACTS AMENDED—EVANS REVIEWS THE VETO—CHILCOTT AND HUNT FOR CONGRESS—MORE OF CUMMINGS' PERFORMANCES—A MIDNIGHT MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT—SECRETARY HALL REMOVED—SENATE REFUSES TO CONFIRM A SUCCESSOR—CAUSTIC REVIEW OF CUMMINGS' ACTS BY A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE—CHILCOTT SEATED—HUNT APPOINTED GOVERNOR—LOVELAND AND THE CLEAR CREEK RAILWAY—FINAL LOCATION OF THE PACIFIC RAILROAD—FIRST PIONEERS' ASSOCIATION—KOUNTZE BROS. AND THE COLORADO NATIONAL BANK—GEORGE T. CLARK—ARRIVAL OF BAYARD TAYLOR AND GENERAL SHERMAN—FIRST BALLOTS CAST BY THE BLACKS—EARLY HISTORY OF CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS—FIRST REPUBLICAN CLUB.	382
--	-----

CHAPTER XXV.

THE BUILDING OF OUR FIRST RAILWAYS—GENERAL HUGHES AND THE OVERLAND STAGE LINE—BUTTERFIELD'S LINE THROUGH THE SMOKY HILLS—LOVELAND AND CARTER'S PROPOSITION TO DENVER—ARRIVAL OF COLONEL JAMES ARCHER—ORGANIZATION OF A BOARD OF TRADE—HISTORY OF THE DENVER PACIFIC RAILWAY—REMOVAL OF THE TERRITORIAL CAPITAL—INAUGURATION OF WORK ON THE COLORADO CENTRAL—GOVERNOR EVANS UTTERS A PROPHECY—GENERAL WM. J. PALMER—SKETCH OF THE UNION PACIFIC RAILWAY.	409
---	-----

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE MURDERERS OF PONT NEUF CANON—THEIR PURSUIT BY THE VIGILANTES OF MONTANA—A THRILLING INCIDENT OF THE FRONTIER—OVERLAND MERCHANDISE	
---	--

CONTENTS.

xv

TRAFFIC—COLORADO AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION—THE BOSTON & COLORADO SMELTING WORKS—OPENING OF A NEW ERA—GOVERNOR HUNT'S ADMINISTRATION—TRIALS AND DIFFICULTIES—DESTRUCTION OF CROPS BY GRASSHOPPERS—THE AMERICAN HOTEL—RENEWAL OF THE STATE MOVEMENT—LOCATION OF THE TERRITORIAL PENITENTIARY—RIOT IN TRINIDAD—ARRIVAL OF GRANT, SHERMAN AND SHERIDAN—RETURN OF SCHUYLER COLFAX—CHILCOTT'S RECORD IN CONGRESS—THE INDIAN WAR OF 1868—GREAT EXCITEMENT—THE COLFAX PARTY ENDANGERED—PURSUIT OF THE INDIANS BY SHERIDAN—TERRIBLE EXPERIENCE OF COLONEL FORSYTHE ON THE REPUBLICAN. - - - 438

CHAPTER XXVII.

1868-1871—ARRIVAL OF ROSCOE CONKLING, PROFESSOR AGASSIZ, SECRETARY WM. H. SEWARD, GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD, AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED MEN—AGASSIZ'S OPINION OF COLORADO—RESIGNATION OF SENATORS EVANS AND CHAFFEE—GAS WORKS ESTABLISHED—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRADE—PROGRESS OF THE COLORADO CENTRAL—ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH SMELTING WORKS—GOVERNOR HUNT SUPERSEDED BY GEN. M'COOK—HAYDEN'S GEOLOGICAL SURVEY—THE ROBBING OF ORSON BROOKS—PURSUIT AND CAPTURE OF THE OUTLAWS—FRANKLIN KILLED, DOUGAN LYNCHED—A GHASTLY SPECTER BY MOONLIGHT—THE LYNCHING OF MUSGROVE BY DENVER VIGILANTES—DEVELOPMENT OF BOULDER, CLEAR CREEK, PUEBLO AND CANON CITY—FOUNDING OF IRON WORKS—THE AUTHOR DINES WITH ANSON RUDD—PIONEER COURTS—DEALINGS WITH THIEVES—AUNT CLARA BROWN—CHRISTENING THE GARDEN OF THE GODS—TRADITIONS OF MANITOU. - - - - - 464

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1870-72—FURTHER HISTORY OF THE DENVER PACIFIC—OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS FOR 1870—GOVERNOR EVANS' DONATION TO ARAPAHOE COUNTY—DRIVING THE SILVER SPIKE—THE LOCOMOTIVE D. H. MOFFAT—GREAT MASONIC DEMONSTRATION—LAYING THE CORNER STONE OF THE UNION DEPOT—BUILDING THE KANSAS PACIFIC—CONSTANT ANNOYANCE FROM INDIANS—THE TOWN OF KIT CARSON—GRADING FROM DENVER EASTWARD—BRISK WORK BY EICHOLTZ AND WEED—FINAL COMPLETION OF THE ROAD—OPENING A NEW ERA OF PROGRESS—REAL ESTATE IN DENVER—STATISTICAL DATA—FIRST THROUGH PULLMAN CAR—FREIGHT TARIFFS—DENVER & BOULDER VALLEY R. R.—THE DENVER & RIO GRANDE RAILWAY—ITS FIRST TRAINS—UTOPIAN CHARACTER OF THE ENTERPRISE—FOUNDING COLORADO SPRINGS AND MANITOU—FITZHUGH LUDLOW'S DREAM—DESCRIPTION OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS—EXTENSION OF THE RIO GRANDE TO PUEBLO—RECEPTION AND BANQUET—EFFECT OF RAILWAY CONNECTION ON THE TOWN. - 486

CHAPTER XXIX.

1870-72—DATA SHOWING THE GROWTH OF THE TERRITORY—EFFECT OF RAILWAYS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUEBLO—TERRITORIAL ASSESSMENTS AND EXPENDI- TURES—RALPH MEEKER'S TRIBUTE TO BYERS, EVANS AND MOFFAT—DEVELOP- MENT OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS—THE SUPERINTENDENCY OF W. C. LOTHROP— ARAPAHOE STREET SCHOOL—LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATIONS—FIRST BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION—EFFECTS OF TOO FREE ADVERTISING—THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOSEPH E. BATES AS MAYOR—DEPLORABLE LACK OF PUBLIC PARKS—CONSERVA- TISM OF THE PEOPLE—HENRY M. STANLEY, THE RENOWNED EXPLORER—HIS CAREER IN THE WEST—FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF FOUNTAIN COLONY—FIRST YEAR'S PROGRESS—FORT COLLINS COLONY—ORGANIZATION OF COLORADO PIONEERS— VISIT OF THE GRAND DUKE ALEXIS OF RUSSIA—SETTLEMENT OF THE SAN JUAN COUNTRY.	509
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CHAPTER XXX.

ORGANIZATION, LOCATION AND EARLY HISTORY OF UNION COLONY—VISIT OF N. C. MEEKER—ATTEMPT TO LOCATE IN THE SOUTH PARK—ARRIVAL OF HORACE GREELEY—FATE OF THE FIRST AND ONLY SALOON EVER OPENED IN GREELEY— CARL WULSTEN'S COLONY IN THE WET MOUNTAIN VALLEY—REVIEW OF IRRIGA- TION—TREE PLANTING AND FRUIT CULTURE—THE CHICAGO-COLORADO COLONY ESTABLISH LONGMONT—COLORADO WHEAT AND FLOUR IN THE EAST.	531
--	-----

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

BOWLES, JAMES W.....	<i>Frontispiece</i>
MEEK, C. F.....	64
BURCHINELL, WM. K.....	80
DAILY, JAMES M.....	96
BRISBANE, W. H.....	112
BREWSTER, A. W.....	128
TELLER, J. C.....	144
HAWKINS, THOS. H.....	160
MACHEBEUF, J. P.....	176
MCCREERY, JAMES W.....	192
CRESWELL, JOSEPH.....	208
PERKY, JNO. S.....	224
BELL, E. M.....	240
BURCHARD, O. R.....	256
BAERRESEN, H. W.....	272
HARVEY, WILLIAM.....	288
PLACE, A. B.....	304
TYNON, JAMES S.....	320
KENDRICK, FRANK C.....	336
TAYLOR, C. E.....	352
BALL, J. J. T.....	368
HOOPER, J. D.....	384
CHAMBERLIN, J. T.....	400
MARTIN, HERMAN H.....	416



HISTORY OF COLORADO.

CHAPTER I.

1528 TO 1542. EXPEDITION OF PAMFILIO NARVAEZ—LANDING AT TAMPA BAY—EXPLO-
RATIONS INLAND—ABANDONED BY THE FLEET—WRECK OF THEIR BOATS—CABEZA
DE VACA AND HIS COMPANIONS THROWN UPON THE COAST OF LOUISIANA—ENSLAVE-
MENT BY THE INDIANS—THEIR ESCAPE AFTER SIX YEARS—JOURNEY ACROSS THE
CONTINENT—INDIAN TRIBES MET WITH EN ROUTE—EXPERIENCES AMONG THE PU-
EBLOS, OR TOWN-DWELLING PEOPLES—FIRST MEETING WITH SPANISH TROOPS—EFFECT
OF DE VACA'S ADVENTURES UPON THE CONQUERORS OF MEXICO—CONQUEST OF FLO-
RIDA BY DE SOTO—TRAILS OF FIRE AND BLOOD—DEATH OF DE SOTO—LOUIS MOSCO-
SO'S MARCH TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

That we may pursue our investigations of the antiquity and the archæology of Colorado, with a proper understanding of the prehistoric races and their works, as handed down to us, it is important to expunge for the time being, modern boundaries of the States and Territories west of the Mississippi, and view the country and its inhabitants as they existed at the time of the conquest of Mexico and the Floridas by the Spaniards. The vast region lying between St. Augustine and the Mississippi (Espirito Santo) was then designated as Florida, and thence westward to the Pacific, in general, as New Spain. The first explorers were the survivors of the ill-fated expedition of Pamfilio Narvaez, who sailed from the West Indies in 1528, with four ships containing four hundred men, eighty horses, and the requisite equipments, with the intention of prosecuting a thorough exploration of the country which had been previously discovered by Ponce de Leon, Diego Meruelo,

Lucas, Vasquez de Allyon, and others, but not penetrated by them beyond the coast. Narvaez landed in Tampa Bay in April of that year, and proceeded some distance inland, leaving those in charge of the fleet with instructions to follow along the Gulf, and await the commander at some convenient harbor. After sailing about for some months without hearing any tidings from the explorers, the officers of the fleet, giving them up as lost, sailed for Havana. In due time the adventurers returned to the coast, only to find themselves utterly abandoned. They then constructed boats, with the view of proceeding along the gulf to the river Panuco, whence they resolved to journey overland to the Spanish settlements in Mexico. It is related that for this purpose, they converted their stirrups, spurs, and every other piece of metal they possessed into saws, nails, etc., cut up and sewed together their shirts for sails, and wove cordage from the tails and manes of their horses, the animals being subsequently slaughtered, and their flesh dried for provisions en route. Thus scantily provided they embarked, and after varying fortunes some of the boats reached the coast of Louisiana, or Texas, where all were wrecked or thrown upon the beach by furious gales. Among those who survived, were Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, the treasurer of Narvaez' expedition, a wise, prudent, sagacious, and withal a godly man, of excellent repute in his native land, and three companions.

As this forms the beginning of one of the most remarkable and interesting expeditions ever accomplished by any member of the human race on this continent, and also the first transcontinental reconnoissance of which we have any knowledge, the narrative which follows is especially commended to the reader by the importance of its bearing upon the events relating to the Spanish Conquest, detailed in the chapters following. The material incidents have been extracted, and as far as possible condensed, from Cabeza de Vaca's personal account, and will repay careful attention. It is the dawn of our local history, and while it relates but distantly to our own occupation, it is the original historic light thrown upon the problem of the races which we call prehistoric,

the widely scattered remnants of whose works are left as a guide to their antiquity.

The boat commanded by Cabeza de Vaca was cast upon an island, possibly Galveston, or some one of those in Matagorda Bay. At all events, from the grievous sufferings and misfortunes of the party, it was christened "Malhado," or Bad Luck, where, and upon the adjacent mainland, they remained captives among the Indians for nearly six years. De Vaca, as were all the rest, was enslaved by them, but by virtue of certain miraculous powers which he was believed to possess for healing the sick, he was treated with greater leniency than the others, and allowed many special and much valued privileges, among them that of visiting and trading with the tribes occupying interior provinces. Finally, with three others, one of whom was a Barbary negro named Estevanico, to whose extraordinary performances we shall have occasion to refer later on, plans were concerted for their escape, and an earnest effort to discover the settlements founded by Cortez and other Spanish chieftains on the Pacific. In the course of time, but not without many trials and disappointments owing to the constant vigilance of their captors, this was accomplished. Employing his reputation as a heaven-descended healer to the utmost, Cabeza and his associates journeyed westward from tribe to tribe, by whom he was always cordially received and kindly treated. He says he simply made the sign of the cross over them, and commended them to God, whereupon the pains and aches departed, and they were made whole. Out of their unspeakable gratitude they loaded him with presents, expressing in every way reverential obedience, and making smooth his pathway across the country, his fame preceding him from point to point. The natives accompanied him in great numbers, bringing their sick to be cured, furnishing guides, and protecting him from all danger. "When upon the plains," says the narrator, "we traveled through so many sorts of people of such divers languages that memory fails to recall them. They ever plundered each other, and those that lost, like those that gained, were fully content. We drew so many followers that we had not use for their

services. Whatever they killed, or found, was put before us without themselves daring to take anything until we had blessed it, though they should be expiring of hunger, they having established this rule since marching with us. Frequently we were accompanied by three or four thousand people, and as we had to breathe upon and sanctify the food and drink for each, and grant permission to do the many things they would come to ask, it may be seen how great was the annoyance." In due time they arrived at the Rio Grande, which is described as "a great river coming from the north."

From this point, bearing northward for a time, they encountered a different race of Indians living in "fixed dwellings of civilization," being "the finest persons of any we saw, and of the greatest activity and strength, who best understood us and most intelligently answered our inquiries. We called them the Cow Nation," from the great numbers of cattle (buffalo) in that region, upon which the natives depended for meat and clothing. This section was very thickly populated. The people cultivated the soil, possessed flocks and herds, occupied substantial dwellings, and were wholly distinct in physique, manners and customs from the wild, roving tribes theretofore discovered. It will be seen that the travelers had entered the country of the inhabited Pueblos. In some of these "they gave us cotton shawls, better than those of New Spain; many beads and certain corals found in the South Sea, and fine turquoises that came from the North," obtained undoubtedly by themselves or other tribes from the Chalchuiutl Mountains near the Modern Cerillos, about twenty miles south of Santa Fe, whence the Pueblos of the present day obtain considerable supplies. "Indeed," continues de Vaca, "they gave us all they had. To me they gave five emeralds made into arrow heads, which they use at their singing and dancing. I asked whence they got these, and they said the stones were brought from some lofty mountains that stand toward the North, where were populous towns and very large houses, and that they purchased them with plumes and feathers of parrots. * * * We possessed great influence and authority; to preserve both we seldom talked with

them. The negro (Estevanico) was in constant conversation ; he informed himself about the ways we wished to take, of the towns there were, and the matters we desired to know. We passed through many and dissimilar tongues. Our Lord granted us favor with the people who spake them, for they always understood us, and we them. We questioned them, and received their answers by signs, just as if they spoke our language, and we theirs, for although we knew six languages we could not everywhere avail ourselves of them, there being a thousand differences. Throughout all these countries the people who were at war, immediately made friends, that they might come to meet us, and bring what they possessed. In this way we left all the land at peace, and we taught all the inhabitants, by signs which they understood, that in heaven was a man we called God, who had created the sky and the earth. Him we worshiped, and had for our Master ; that we did what He commanded, and from His hand came all good ; and would they do as we did, all would be well with them. They are a people of good condition and substance, capable in any pursuit."

Here we discover the initiative of the marvelous missionary work undertaken and vigorously pursued by the devotees of Catholicism among the primitive races of men, which have been reached by the *avant couriers* of the Apostolic Church. Utterly naked as when they came into the world, scarred and scored from shoulders to feet by the innumerable hardships through which they had passed in their terrible pilgrimage, they disseminated the doctrines of their faith and the blessings of Christianity the entire length of their trail, from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific; vehemently condemned, and, for a time, put an end to the cruelties and robberies of marauding bands of their own race, which came up from Mexico for the single purpose of pillaging and enslaving these thrifty, intelligent and peace-loving peoples.

Continuing their journey westward, they traversed other villages and witnessed further manifestations of this admirable civilization. At the Pueblo of Corazones they found the first trace of their vicinity to European settlements. One of the Indians met here, was seen wearing

as an ornament the buckle of a Spanish sword belt, and, with it, the nail of a horseshoe. Questioning developed the story that a party of Spanish soldiers had, some time previous, ridden from the West up to the river near by, and left these relics there by accident. By this statement they were apprised of the accuracy of their course. Shortly after they met one of the mounted bands of the marauders, forced them to abandon their mission, and accompanied them back to Mexico. The party, having arrived at Culiacan, their wonderful adventures were recited over and over again, creating, as may well be imagined, profound astonishment. On the 25th of July, 1536, they reached the City of Mexico, whence, some time later, Cabeza de Vaca sailed for Lisbon.

This, briefly told, is the chronicle of the original explorers of the great plains which now are ribbed with so many bands of steel, to carry an important part of the commerce of our magnificent Republic. We shall find, as we proceed, further disclosures of character, arts and architecture of the prehistoric races, ancestors of those already described, whose remains are at this time attracting the attention of antiquarians throughout the world; how they were subjugated and dispersed, and, incidentally, the causes, in a well-connected chain of testimony, which led to the migration westward of different ancient races and their occupation of the great empire, extending from the Mississippi to the shores of the Pacific; touching also their descent from the earliest antiquity of which any trace appears, to the present epoch.

It is established by manuscripts and books, prepared by the early chroniclers who witnessed the scenes they described, that the Spanish army of invasion from the South, organized and conducted by Hernando de Soto, whose entire route became a ghastly trail of fire and blood, was the first to discover the Rocky Mountains of the West, and to set foot upon the soil of the territory now embraced by the State of Colorado. Before considering the explorations projected from the Pacific by Coronado and others, let us examine briefly that which has been mentioned from the southeast, admirably portrayed by Theodore

Irving,* and obtained from the archives of Madrid, which fell into his hands while a student in that city. The first was entitled, "The Florida of the Inca, or the History of the Adelantado Fernando de Soto, Governor and Captain General of the Kingdom of Florida, and of other heroic cavaliers, Spaniards and Indians, written by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega," and the second, a narrative on the same subject, written by a Portuguese soldier, who accompanied the expedition. We are told that Vega was a man of rank and honor, descended from an ancient family. His narrative was originally taken down by himself from the lips of a friend, "a cavalier of worth and respectability, who had been an officer under De Soto," and supported by the written journals of two others who had served under the great commander. The Portuguese participated in all of the thrilling adventures which marked the pilgrimage of the conquering host.

De Soto acquired vast wealth with Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, displaying in that long series of bloody events a rare combination of prudence and valor, wisdom in council, dauntless courage in every perilous exploit. By virtue of his pre-eminent qualifications for leadership, Pizarro made him his lieutenant. He returned to Spain laden with spoils of the Peruvian war, and became a conspicuous figure at the court of the great Emperor, Charles V. At the height of his renown Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca returned to Spain, and there related the circumstances attending the fate of Pamfilio de Narvaez. His account of the marvelous extent and richness of the lands he had traversed, at once inspired the Spanish cavaliers with an intense desire to visit them, under the conviction that some portions must contain inexhaustible mines of gold and precious stones. De Soto was quick to see in this an opportunity to rival and, possibly, to eclipse the glory which surrounded the name and exploits of Cortez. He asked permission of the emperor to undertake the conquest at his own expense, which was readily granted, and De Soto created Governor and Captain General for life of the island of Cuba and the Floridas. In due time he gathered an

*Conquest of Florida, published 1851.

army of nine hundred and fifty Spaniards and Portuguese, and with it sailed for Cuba, where he landed about the last of May, 1538. For the details of the voyage and the events attending the conquest, the reader is referred to the work under consideration. It is sufficient for our present purpose to trace this expedition through the West after its passage of the Mississippi.

It is believed that De Soto crossed this river at the lowest Chickasaw bluff, between the thirty-fourth and the thirty-fifth parallels, and, proceeding in a northwesterly direction, soon entered the country of the Kaskaskia Indians. Prolonging his march in that direction, impelled by the hope of finding the object of his search, he came out upon the plains of Eastern Kansas, at what point cannot be ascertained. Failing to discover any traces of gold or precious stones, and the country becoming more and more barren, and the health of the commander having been greatly impaired by the trials he had undergone, the army returned to the Mississippi by a different route, where De Soto died.

The command then devolved upon Louis de Moscoso. A council of war was held to determine whether they should follow the course of the river to the sea, or again strike westward in quest of the precious metals, and, failing in that, join the Spanish settlements of Mexico. On the previous expedition they had been told by the Indians that "not far to the westward there were other Spaniards who were going about conquering the country." It was therefore decided by the council that "the Spaniards to the West must have sallied forth from Mexico to conquer new kingdoms; and as, according to the account of the Indians, they could not be far distant, it was determined to march with all speed in that direction, and join them in their career of conquest." The march began on, or about the 5th of June, 1542. We can only follow them by imaginary lines, for it is impossible to trace their movements by the descriptions given. It is probable, however, that they proceeded westward from a point not far below Memphis, and bearing to the north and west, in due season found themselves between the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers. It is evident that they passed the

salt marshes of the Saline Fork of the Arkansas, for they halted there and obtained supplies of salt,—of which they were in great need,—from the Indians, who made it an article of merchandise ; also that they encountered and had frequent bloody skirmishes with the warlike Osages and Pawnees, or their immediate predecessors in possession of the country. The Spanish historian affirms that they saw great chains of mountains and forests to the west, which they understood were uninhabited. At this point, which we will assume was the Arkansas River, possibly in the neighborhood of the old Santa Fé trail, Moscoso encamped and sent out scouting parties across the river, to discover what lay beyond, each in a different direction ; and these penetrated to the distance of thirty leagues. “ They found the country sterile, thinly populated, and it appeared worse and worse the further they proceeded. They captured some of the inhabitants, who assured them that further on it was still more destitute ; the natives did not live in villages, neither did they cultivate the soil, but were a wandering people, roving in bands, gathering fruits and herbs and roots of spontaneous growth, and depending occasionally upon hunting and fishing for subsistence ; passing from place to place according as the seasons were favorable to their pursuits.”

These scouting parties were absent for fifteen days, when they returned, each bringing substantially the same accounts, all of which were extremely unfavorable. The command being greatly discouraged, it was decided to return to the Mississippi, build boats and make their way down that stream to the coast, and thence to the island of Cuba.

To summarize, it will be remembered that Moscoso left the Father of Waters for the West early in June, and did not get back until the beginning of December, therefore a period of six months was consumed in the march to the Rocky Mountains, and in the countermarch. As all were mounted, it is not difficult to determine the fact that they proceeded to, and possibly beyond, the present confines of New Mexico. The chroniclers quoted, distinctly assert that they “ saw vast

chains of mountains," and describe the inhabitants, otherwise the native Indians, and the face of the country, precisely as they undoubtedly existed at that time. The detached expeditions sent out from the banks of the great river, explored the country round about for a distance of thirty leagues, which must have taken some of them well up to the base of the chain.

De Soto's army of invasion landed at Tampa Bay, as we have seen, on the 25th of May, 1538. Moscoso's command departed for the West on the 5th of June, and returned in December, 1542. Thus the exploration of Florida and the plains occupied nearly four years. Had they resolutely prolonged their journey beyond the plains of the Arkansas River, they might have formed a junction with the settlements of Northern Mexico, though not with the forces under Coronado, who before their arrival had completed their conquest of the "Seven Cities," and retired to the interior of New Spain.

CHAPTER II.

1530 TO 1540. EXPEDITIONS FROM THE SOUTHWEST—FRIAR MARCOS DE NIZA AND HIS GUIDE, ESTEVANICO—CORONADO'S MARCH TO THE SEVEN WONDERFUL CITIES OF CIBOLA—DESCRIPTION OF THE INHABITANTS, THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—RESISTANCE TO THE INVADERS—DESTRUCTION AND SLAUGHTER—PARTIAL CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY—INEFFECTUAL SEARCH FOR THE MYTHICAL CITY OF QUIVIRA—DISCOVERY OF THE GRAND CANYON OF THE COLORADO—THE CLIFF DWELLERS, THEIR CHARACTER, HABITS AND HOMES—TRAVERSING THE PLAINS OF KANSAS—RETURN OF THE ARMY TO MEXICO—THE AUTHOR'S VISIT TO THE PUEBLOS—INTERVIEW WITH A VENERABLE CACIQUE—SOME OLD MANUSCRIPTS—PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS OF THESE PECULIAR PEOPLE.

The procession of mighty events in the world's history thus inaugurated, leads us in regular sequence to the conquest of that portion of New Spain modernly designated New Mexico, or New Biscay. To avoid a multiplicity of foot note references, it is here announced that the material facts of this chapter have been condensed from the latest accepted authorities, mainly from the very complete account prepared by Lieutenant J. H. Simpson, U. S. A., who compiled his details from the journals of Castañeda and others who accompanied the expedition, and narrated the events as they occurred.

In the year of 1530, Nuno de Guzman, president of New Spain under Charles V., was informed by his slave, an Indian from the province of Tejos, in the northern part of Mexico, that in his travels he had seen cities so large as to be justly comparable to the City of Mexico itself; that they were seven in number, and had streets which were exclusively occupied by workers in gold and silver, which metals were

very abundant; that to reach them it would be necessary to travel a long distance northward, between the two oceans, and undergo the perils and hardships of a desert which was almost destitute of vegetation, etc., etc. Many years previous to his enslavement by the Spaniards, his father, who was a merchant or dealer in ornamental feather work—an art, by the way, of remote antiquity among Aztecs, who brought it to a very high state of perfection—visited these cities for the purpose of selling such goods, receiving therefor great quantities of gold and silver. Having accompanied his father on one or two occasions, he spoke advisedly as to the richness of the country.

As every report, however improbable, which pointed the way to the discovery of precious metals and stones, was certain to enlist the eager attention of Spaniards from time immemorial, and is as true of the present as of any other period, Guzman, placing implicit confidence in the tales of his bondman, proceeded to organize an expedition. It consisted of four hundred Spaniards, and twenty thousand Indian allies, who in due time set out in search of the "Seven Wonderful Cities of Cibola." Naturally enough they encountered unexpected difficulties, and were subjected to innumerable hardships in traversing a trackless region wholly unknown to them. Possessing neither the courage nor the enduring qualities of their countrymen who surmounted the obstructions which beset de Soto's forces from Florida to the Mississippi, and thence to the Rocky Mountains, nor leaders calculated to enforce the requisite discipline, in a short time all became discouraged, and the greater part returned to the point of departure. Guzman established himself at Culiacan and proceeded to colonize the country. He remained as Governor for eight years. Meanwhile the Indian who had been the moving impulse of the unfortunate expedition, died. Guzman was removed from his position, and Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, a native of Salamanca, succeeded him. Coronado was a man of great wealth, high character, and widely esteemed. Soon after his elevation, about the year 1538, Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions appeared upon the scene. Their

adventures excited universal interest, and having been communicated to the viceroy in an elaborate detailed report describing the Pueblo towns, and their inhabitants, telling of powerful cities where there were houses four and five stories in height, with other particulars, and by him to Coronado, he quickly decided to send out what, in these days, would be called a committee of investigation, at the same time changing his headquarters to Culiacan. He took with him the negro Estevanico, the companion, and to a large extent the interpreter of Cabeza de Vaca, and three Franciscan friars, Marcos de Niza, and Daniel and Antonio de Santa Maria, who were sent forward to explore the country. The reverend fathers were soon shocked by the very unexemplary conduct of their dusky guide, who possessed an unquenchable passion for appropriating to his own use the native women and such movable plunder as chanced to come in his way, but as he knew the country and they did not, they tolerated him, but kept him well in advance of their slower movements. By certain signs, usually crosses of different sizes, sent back by Indian runners, he apprised them of his discoveries from time to time. At length Estevanico succeeded in reaching the Seven Cities, and taking advantage of his opportunity, robbed the natives of their most valuable goods, and captured and maltreated a number of their women. The last overstrained their patience, and they rose up and killed him.

All along the route Friar Marcos received from the natives whom he met, glowing accounts of the wealth and power of the great cities to the north. He was duly apprised also while yet afar off, of the catastrophe which had overtaken his *avant courier*. Believing the same fate would be meted out to him, should he venture into Cibola, yet determined to see for himself, though at a safe distance, something of the marvels revealed to him, he proceeded to a high point from which the towns could be reconnoitered. In his report to Coronado, he says: "The houses are builded in order, according, as the Indians told me, all made of stone with divers stories and flat roofs, as far as I could discern from the mountain. The people are somewhat white; they

wear apparel, and lie in beds; their weapons are bows; they have emeralds and other jewels, though they esteem none so much as turquoises wherewith they adorn the walls of the porches of their houses, and their apparel and vessels, and they use them instead of money through all the country. They use vessels of gold and silver, for they have no other metal, whereof there is greater use and more abundance than in Peru." It will appear by subsequent events that Friar Marcos, like many another pioneer of modern civilization, drew mainly upon his imagination for his facts, and trusted rather too implicitly the natives who accompanied him.

After delivering his highly-colored account to the Governor, Marcos and his associates proceeded to retail to the populace on the streets at great length and with monstrous exaggerations, the story of their discoveries. A short time afterward Coronado set out at the head of an army composed of three hundred Spaniards and eight hundred Indians, resolved to see for himself what the country contained. The historian of the expedition was Pedro de Castañeda de Nagera, who kept a diary of the marches, and subsequently elaborated his daily minutes into a detailed narrative, from which all accounts from that day to the present have been drawn. Friar Marcos accompanied the army as guide. At Culiacan he left the main body of his troops with orders to follow a fortnight later, and selecting a small detachment of picked men, departed for Chichilticale on the border of the desert. After a disheartening march of fifteen days he succeeded in crossing the desert, and then found himself to be within eight leagues of Cibola, located on the banks of a river which they called Vermijo (Little Colorado). It was here that the first Indians were encountered, who, when they saw the Spaniards advancing upon them, fled and alarmed the villages. Next day Coronado entered Cibola, the first of the Seven Cities. "On beholding it the army broke forth in maledictions upon the friars," who, by their false representations of its treasures of silver and gold, had fired the hearts of the Spaniards with zeal to undertake the long and perilous journey. Castañeda writes, "Cibola is

built upon a rock, and is so small that in truth there are many farms in New Spain that make a better appearance. It may contain two hundred warriors. The houses are built in three or four stories; they are small, not spacious, and have no courts, as a single court serves for a whole quarter. It is composed of seven towns, some of which are larger and better fortified than Cibola. The Indians, ranged in good order, awaited us at some distance from the village." As they were unwilling to accept the terms of peace offered, a struggle ensued; the troops charged upon, and, after a sharp skirmish, dispersed them. Nevertheless, it was necessary to get possession of Cibola, which was no easy achievement, for the road leading to it was both narrow and winding. The General was knocked down by the blow of a stone as he mounted in the assault. Large numbers were unhorsed and stricken down with stones hurled at them from above, still in the course of an hour the citadel was taken. "It was found filled with provisions, which were most needed, and in a short time the whole province was forced to accept peace."

Here the remainder of the army, which had been left at Culiacan, rejoined Coronado. It is needless for the purpose of this work to trace the various branch expeditions by sea, land and river, which are described at length in the several reports. Returning to Coronado at Cibola, we find that, like a true pioneer, he began from this advanced post a series of expeditions into the surrounding country, still in quest of the promised land, glittering with gems and precious metals. His attention was next directed to a distant province said to possess seven towns similar to those of Cibola, and at once sent a part of his force under Don Pedro de Tobar, in that direction. "The rumor had spread among its inhabitants that Cibola was captured by a very ferocious race of people, who bestrode horses that devoured men; and as they knew nothing of horses, this information filled them with the greatest astonishment." Here, as at Cibola, some resistance was made, but the natives were speedily overcome, and compelled by the vigor of the onslaughts to sue for peace, "offering, as inducements, presents of cotton

stuff, tanned hides, flour, pine nuts, native fowls and some turquoises." They told the conquerors of "a great river on which there were Indians living, who were very tall." This being repeated to Coronado, he dispatched Don Pedro de Tobar with a small force in the direction indicated. According to the narrative, "The party passed through Tusayan again on its way to the river, and obtained supplies and guides from the natives. * * * After a journey of twenty days through a desert they reached a river whose banks were so high that they thought themselves elevated three or four leagues in the air." They had discovered the great Cañon of the Colorado River. Without further result of importance Tobar returned to Cibola.

We now pass to the consideration of Coronado's subsequent exploration from Cibola to the eastward. Says our chronicler: "While the discoveries mentioned above were being made, some Indians living seventy leagues toward the east in a province called Cicuye, arrived at Cibola. There was with them a cacique surnamed Bigotes (Mustaches). They had heard of the Spaniards, and came to offer their services and their friendship. They offered gifts of tanned skins, shields and helmets, which the General reciprocated by giving them necklaces of glass beads and bells, which they had never before beheld." They informed him of animals which existed in great numbers in their country (the buffalo), and exhibited one of their number, upon whose body a rude effigy of a buffalo cow had been painted. Coronado directed Captain Hernando d'Alvarado to take twenty men and accompany these savages to their country, with instructions to return in eighty days. Five days later they arrived at Acuco (the present Pueblo of Acoma) which was built upon a rocky promontory. "The inhabitants, who are able to send about two hundred warriors into the field, are the most formidable brigands in the province. This village was very strongly posted, inasmuch as it was reached by only one path and was built upon a rock precipitous on all its other sides, and at such a height that the ball from an arquebuse could scarcely reach its summit. It was entered by a stairway, cut by the hand of man, which

began at the bottom of the declivitous rock, and led up to the village.
* * * On the summit there was a great arsenal of huge stones which the defenders, without exposing themselves, could roll down on the assailants, so that no army, no matter what its strength might be, could force this passage. There was on the top a sufficient space of ground to cultivate and store a large supply of corn, as well as cisterns (reservoirs) to contain water and snow."

This part of the narrative is especially interesting in view of the many speculations by modern writers and explorers concerning the manner in which the dwellers in these lofty heights obtained their supplies of food and water, many of the ruins being at this date remote from cultivated fields, or running streams.

Notwithstanding the difficulties presented, and the resistance offered, these apparently impregnable positions were taken, and their defenders reduced to abject submission. Three days later Alvarado entered a province called Tigux, where, on account of his guide Bigotes, whom the people knew, he was kindly welcomed. The country and the climate being extremely inviting, Coronado was advised to come and winter in the region. After a short period in camp, Alvarado next invaded Cicuye, "a village very strongly fortified, and whose houses had four stories." While here he fell in with "an Indian slave who was a native of the country adjacent to Florida, the interior of which Fernando De Soto had lately explored." This Indian, whom the Spaniards christened *il Turco* (The Turk) on account of his resemblance to the natives of Turkey, was a true representative of the grand army of liars incident to every country and every age, drawing freely upon his fertile imagination for florid descriptions of great towns and boundless stores of gold and silver which filled the land of Quivira, to which he belonged. While this mysterious region has never been definitely located, the Turk placed it adjacent to the Floridas, in other words, at some point between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi. Alvarado's guide defined it in general terms as "the country of the bison." The commander, in the course of his expedition, found the bison in

great numbers, but neither cities nor towns. Meanwhile Coronado had received accounts of still another province, composed of eight towns, which he visited. The eight villages were found to be not like those of Cibola, built of stone, but of earth. They discovered also, "houses of seven stories, which were seen nowhere else. These belonged to private individuals, and served as fortresses. They rise so far above the others that they have the appearance of towns. There are embrasures and loopholes, from which lances may be thrown, and the place defended. As all these villages have no streets, all the roofs are flat and common for all the inhabitants; it is therefore necessary to take possession, first of all, of those large houses which serve as defences." Finally the army reached Tiguex only to find the entire province in revolt over the destruction of their villages by some of Coronado's troops, who in his absence had been perpetrating various atrocities upon the natives. The place was besieged, and, after a struggle of fifty days, captured. In due course all the others were brought under submission.

The army appears to have wintered upon the Rio Grande in 1540, and in May following resumed its march eastward toward the country of Quivira. They crossed a range of mountains, and, as nearly as can be ascertained, came down upon the plains of Colorado about the valley of the Arkansas, where they discovered vast herds of buffalo and other animals. At the place called Quivira they found nothing worthy of mention, and here their guide confessed that by instigation of the Indians he had purposely decoyed the Spaniards into this wilderness to kill the horses, and thus render the soldiers helpless, that they might be delivered into the hands of their enemies. Coronado strangled him and retreated at once to Tiguex, and thence back to the seat of his government in Mexico.

It is generally conceded that his march in the vain search for Quivira extended through a portion of Southern Colorado, and a long distance into Kansas; just how far cannot be determined. Castañeda says Quivira was situated "in the midst of the countries which ad-

joined the mountains that skirt the sea," which challenges research beyond the skill of the present author. The following is more definite, yet leaves the locality as obscure as before: "It is in this country that the great River of Espirito Santo (Mississippi) which Fernando De Soto discovered in Florida, takes its rise; it afterward passes through a province called Arache. Its sources were not seen; they are very distant, and on the slope of the mountain range which borders the plains. It traverses them entirely as well as the Atlantic range, and its mouth is three hundred leagues from the place where De Soto and his comrades embarked." It is at least probable that the Missouri was seen and mistaken for the Mississippi, and its source located in our mountains instead of those of the North.

Jaramillo, one of Coronado's captains, describes the villages of the country thus: "The houses are of straw, very many being circular in shape. The straw reaches almost to the ground like walls; on the outside on top is a kind of chapel or cupola, having an entrance where the Indians sit or lie down." Nowhere else in any of the narratives are such houses mentioned.

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Judge Prince of Santa Fé, who in 1883 published one of the most interesting histories of New Mexico ever written, in referring to this subject—the eastern terminus of Coronado's march—says Jaramillo's description of the houses, "together with the direction taken, and the distance traveled, make it almost beyond question that it was the same city of Quivira which Peñalosa crossed the plains to visit one hundred and twenty years later, and the route followed cannot have been far different. Forty-eight days' march from the cañons of the Canadian," (which were undoubtedly visited) "would carry Coronado to the Missouri without difficulty, and all things considered, we can well believe that he traversed parts of the Indian Territory and Kansas, and finally stopped on the borders of Missouri, somewhere between Kansas City and Council Bluffs." We think very few students of Castañeda will agree with him.

Returning to the Pueblo towns discovered and conquered in New

Mexico, which were unquestionably inhabited by like people with those on the Chaco, the Chelley, the Dolores, the San Juan and the Rio Mancos of our own State, we cannot refrain from adding some further accounts of their domestic life given by Castañeda. Of those in the province of Tiguex, he says: "The houses are built in common. The women mix the mortar and build the walls. The men bring the wood and construct the frames. They have no lime, but they make a mixture of ashes, earth and charcoal, which takes its place very well; for although they build their houses four stories high, the walls are not more than three feet thick. The young men who are not yet married, serve the public in general. They go after firewood, and pile it up in the court or plaza, where the women go to get it for the use of their houses. They live in the estufas, which are underground in the plazas of the villages, and of which some are square, and some are round. The roofs are supported by pillars made of the trunks of pine trees. I have seen some with twelve pillars, each of twelve feet in circumference; but usually they have only four pillars. They are paved with large, polished stones like the baths of Europe. In the center is a fireplace, with a fire burning therein, on which they throw from time to time a handful of sage, which suffices to keep up the heat, so that one is kept as if in a bath. The roof is on a level with the ground. Some of these estufas are as large as a tennis court. When a young man marries, it is by order of the aged men who govern. He has to spin and weave a mantle; they then bring the young girl to him, he covers her shoulders with it, and she becomes his wife. The houses belong to the women, and the estufas to the men. The women are forbidden to sleep in them, or even to enter, except to bring food to their husbands or sons. The men spin and weave, the women take care of the children, and cook the food. The soil is so fertile that it does not need to be worked when they sow; the snow falling covers the seed, and the corn starts underneath. The harvest of one year is sufficient for seven. When they begin to sow, the fields are still covered with corn that has not yet been gathered. Their villages are very neat; the houses are

well distributed and kept in good order ; one room is devoted to cooking, and another to grinding grain. The latter is apart, and contains a fireplace and three stones set in masonry ; three women sit down before the stones ; the first breaks the grain, the second crushes it, and the third grinds it to powder. In all the province glazed pottery abounded, and the vases were of really curious form and workmanship." He describes all the people of the pueblos as mild and gentle, and received the Spaniards hospitably. They wore garments of dressed skins and cotton cloth, subsisted upon maize, beans, pumpkins and other products of the soil. It is also established that they raised cotton, the original plant having been brought to them from the South and in some way unexplained, acquired knowledge of its manufacture into cloth. The invaders of the Sixteenth Century, as well as the explorers of our own time, discovered vast quantities of pottery in various forms, much of it crudely though neatly decorated. Their forms of government, religious rites, manners and customs, differed but little from those of the present generation of the same race ; though the primitive missionaries reinforced by the sword, too frequently with barbaric zeal attempted to uproot the ancient faith and plant the seeds of the church in this virgin soil, it is only with the present generation under moderate counsels that material success has been attained. Even now it is at the best only a partial acceptance of the Catholic religion, confined chiefly to the forms and ceremonies. Certain rites of the old worship are still retained, and secretly, if not openly, practiced. Since the preparation of this work began, the writer has inspected some of the pueblos in the valley of the Rio Grande, conversed with their patriarchs, and observed their condition closely. One of the principal men, a venerable Cacique, was found possessed of superior intelligence, with a disposition to talk of his people and their ancient grandeur. A church stood in one corner of the plaza, constructed of *adobe*, like all their dwellings, but the roof had fallen in, and all about it were evidences of neglect and decay, not witnessed in their homes or fields. The old man who had long been the honored Governor of the pueblo,

dwelt with impassioned earnestness upon the history of his race, referring to the battles of his forefathers with the invaders on horseback ; pointed out the spot where a fierce contest had been waged, and seemed to feel as acutely as they the loss of liberty which their subjugation entailed. He had been to Washington (1850) and visited President Fillmore, who gave him one of the ponderous silver medals then issued to visiting chiefs. In one corner of the room hung a silver mounted ebony cane, presented by President Lincoln in 1863, during his second and last visit. Of these mementoes of his acquaintance with the Great Fathers, he was very proud. At length he produced a collection of manuscripts neatly engrossed in Spanish, containing an account of the wars of his tribe with the Spaniards, from which he read in a distinct yet plaintive tone the incidents narrated. When asked his name he replied with stately dignity, "I will write it for you," and did so in a perfectly legible, though somewhat tremulous hand, thus : "Carlos Vigil Tunga, aged 80." The priests taught him to read, and probably the rudiments of penmanship, though he insisted that the latter accomplishment had been acquired by patiently copying the manuscripts, and exhibited with evident pride several scraps of paper on which these efforts had been laboriously traced.

The women grind the corn and bake the tortillas upon heated stones, precisely as their ancestors did in prehistoric times. The men and women still retain the cotton garments, adding the modern blankets for cool weather. In all New Mexico no lands are better tilled, or orchards more extensive and fruitful than theirs ; none that are more intelligently cared for or preserved. They are well clothed, comfortably housed, are temperate, sturdily industrious, honest, truthful and thrifty. Though rejecting modern implements of husbandry, the soil is none the less effectively plowed with the crooked stick, carefully planted, properly irrigated, and watched from seedtime to harvest. There are no beggars, and apparently no destitute among them ; some are comparatively wealthy, and all independent of their neighbors of different blood. The chief engineer of one of the railways recently constructed

in the Rio Grande Valley, informed me of his unbounded confidence in the integrity and truthfulness of these Indians. Said he: "I have intrusted them with tens of thousands in gold and silver, sent them with great packages of money,—telling them of their contents,—many miles to different stations on the line for the payment of my working forces, and in every instance the mission was faithfully executed. One might leave hundreds of thousands in these pueblos for any length of time with perfect assurance that not a dollar would be taken. Treat them kindly, and they will protect you and your property from harm."

Lieutenant J. H. Simpson, of the United States Army, who visited some of the more prominent pueblos in New Mexico and Arizona in 1849, writes of their religious belief, "The tribes differ somewhat in their religious customs. In relation to Montezuma, however, the different pueblo Indians, although speaking different languages, have the same belief." He asked a Jemez Indian whether they now looked upon God and the sun as the same being, and was answered that they did. "The question was then put, whether they still worshiped the sun as God, with contrition of heart. His reply was, 'Why not? He governs the world.' From this Indian I also learned that they worship the sun with most pleasure in the morning, and that they have priests to administer their own religion which they like better than the Roman Catholic, which he says has been forced upon them, and which they do not understand. He said they were all children of Montezuma, and a tradition had been current among them that they were to be delivered by a people who would come from the East; that in consequence of the good treatment they were receiving from the Americans, they were beginning to believe that that people had come."

CHAPTER III.

THE RUINS IN SOUTHWESTERN COLORADO—DESCRIPTIONS BY HOLMES AND JACKSON OF THE U. S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY—NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE CLIFF AND CAVE DWELLINGS—HOW THEY WERE BUILT—ENORMOUS LABOR INVOLVED—REMAINS OF THE RIO MANCOS, THE SAN JUAN, DOLORES, CHELLEY, AND IN CHACO CANYON—DISCOVERIES AMONG THE RUINS—INDIAN PICTOGRAPHY—COMPARISON OF ANCIENT AND MODERN ARCHITECTURE—ANTIQUITY OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR PROBABLE ORIGIN—AZTEC TRADITIONS—RECENT DISCOVERY OF SIMILAR TOWNS AND PEOPLE IN MOROCCO.

The basis of the account which we shall give of the ruins in Southwestern Colorado, is that which has been and necessarily must be consulted by all writers upon the subject, namely, the reports of Holmes and Jackson, of the U. S. Geological Survey, published by the Department of the Interior in 1875-6. Omitting the minor details the greater part of the chapter will be devoted to a general outline of the works erected by our prehistoric races.

The district* embraces an area of about 6,000 square miles mainly in Colorado, but including narrow belts in the adjacent territories of New Mexico, Arizona and Utah. It lies wholly on the Pacific slope, and belongs entirely to the drainage system of the Rio San Juan, a tributary of the Colorado of the West.

Lying along the west base of the mountains in a comparatively flat country, the eastern border of the great plateau region that reaches westward toward the Sierras, the surface geology is chiefly cretaceous, and the various large streams found on the west slope of the Rocky Mountains, have cut long cañoned valleys down through the nearly horizontal beds. In the greater part of this region there is little mois-

* Holmes.

ture, apart from these streams, and, as a consequence, vegetation is very sparse, and the general aspect of the country is barren and forbidding. It is probable that far back in the twilight of time when these people selected it for their abiding place, there were streams which have no existence at this day, fertile lands, and possibly, dense forests. At all events, whatever the conditions, a great population maintained itself in comparative abundance and comfort. Since then vast changes have occurred, and to the observer who examines it now, it seems impossible for any considerable settlements to have wrested even a scanty living from the soil.

Mr. Holmes continues: "There is scarcely a square mile in the 6,000 examined, that does not furnish evidence of previous occupation, by a race totally distinct from the nomadic savages who hold it now (the Utes), and in many ways superior to them." But the people named never were nomads. They constructed and inhabited towns, villages, fortresses and caves, had fixed habitations, tilled the soil, raised flocks and herds, manufactured fabrics, and in every way possessed a higher and better civilization, as evinced by their works, than their neighbors and contemporaries who roved the plains, dwelt in tents or in wigwams, and moved about from place to place as the fancy seized them. These were the warlike, predatory bands who periodically assailed the villages, and whose frequent incursions compelled the erection of defensive structures.

The major part of the ruins stand upon, or near, springs and running streams, and here are seen grassy meadows and broad strips of alluvial bottom land. Most of the structures are of stone, and all in the last stages of decay. Classified, we find that the lowland villages were occupied by the division which produced the crops and other supplies. The same may have been true of the cave dwellers. Undoubtedly the cliff houses were fortresses to which the people fled for protection in time of war.

In the valleys were situated the pueblos or communities. "They form parallelograms or circles, marked out, where the nature of the

ground permitted, with great regularity, and all built of stone carefully laid, and the crevices filled with clay and mud." The circular ruins "are sometimes those of towers," used as signal stations, "or buildings sixty feet or more in diameter, inclosing several series of little apartments with one in the center, often half underground, to which the Spaniards have given the name of *estufas*."

These *estufas*, which form a part of all settlements, and every group of houses, appear to have been used as council chambers, and for the practice of religious and other mysterious rites. They are so used among the pueblos of the present day; notwithstanding all the efforts of the Catholic missionaries, supplemented by Spanish laws, enforced by Spanish troops, for their suppression, they have been powerless to obliterate the ancient forms of worship, and engraft the Christian religion upon these people. Some have accepted the outward forms, but nearly all cling tenaciously to the ancient heathen rites. The testimony given by Mariano Ruiz, a Spaniard who lived for a long time amongst the Pecos Indians, is to the effect that they preserved the sacred fire in an *estufa* until 1840, when the five families who alone survived, became affiliated with another tribe. The fire was kept in a kind of oven, and was never allowed to emit flames. Ruiz himself was, in his turn, charged to keep it up, but he refused, influenced by the superstitious fear of the Indians that he who should leave his brethren after having watched over the sacred fire, would inevitably perish within a year. On account of his refusal he was never allowed to enter *estufas*. "It is certain* that these *estufas* occur in all habitations, even in those situated above precipices or on rocks not to be scaled without extreme difficulty, so that it is evident that great importance was attached to them."

"The cliff houses† could only have been used as places of refuge and defence. During seasons of invasion and war, families were probably sent to them for security, while the warriors defended their property, or went forth to battle.

* Nadaillac. Prehistoric America. † Holmes.

"In form the parallelogram and the circle predominate, and a considerable degree of architectural skill is displayed. Where the conformation of the ground permits, the squares are *perfect* squares, and the circles *perfect* circles. The greater part of the ordinary structures are square or rectangular; while attached to each group, and sometimes without indications of contiguous buildings, are circular ruins, frequently resembling towers. These are often as much as forty feet in diameter, in many cases having double or triple walls. They are solidly built of hewn stone, dressed on the outside to the curve, neatly jointed, and laid in mortar." Imagine these patient workmen and the herculean task before them, fashioning these blocks with the crudest of stone implements, and jointing the whole in a perfect masonry which has endured through many centuries, how many no man can tell, and undisturbed, will outlive many generations to come.

"Almost invariably a circular depression or estufa occupies the center of the inclosure. The smaller single walled towns which are scattered at intervals along the river courses and cañons, frequently in commanding situations, were probably watch or signal towers." The cave dwellings are simply irregular excavations in the faces of the bluffs, the fronts of which were either walled up or left open, according as peace or war obtained. "The cliff houses conform in shape to the floor of the niche or shelf on which they are built. They are of firm, neat masonry, and the manner in which they are attached or cemented to the cliffs, is simply marvelous. Their construction has cost a great deal of labor, the rock and mortar having been brought for hundreds of feet up the most precipitous places. They have a much more modern appearance than the valley and cave remains, and are probably more recent." Which implies that the agricultural settlements, being exposed to attacks from nomadic savages, these lofty fortresses were rendered necessary as places of refuge in the event of defeat, or as the means employed for the safety of their families, whenever it became imperative for the strong men to fight for their property, or invade the neighboring territory.

"Of works of art, other than architectural, that might assist in throwing light upon the grade of civilization reached by these people, but meager discoveries were made." The facts concealed can only be made known by patient and prolonged exhumation, which it is believed the interest lately awakened by the reports of the various scientific schools, will at no distant day cause to be undertaken.

Of the remains found and now preserved in the National Museum, there are many arrow-heads of flint and obsidian, stone implements, and articles of fictile manufacture, "that may be fairly attributed to the age of the cliff dwellers. There are no evidences whatever that metals were used. Numerous rock inscriptions were observed, both engraved and painted upon the cliffs," and in some of the burial places three entire skeletons were obtained, one from the banks of Hovenweep Creek, near the ruins known as "Hovenweep Castle," the others from a freshly excavated arroya in an ancient village near Abiquiu, New Mexico. A skull was obtained by Captain Moss from a grave on the Rio San Juan, near the mouth of the Mancos. The greater portion of what are supposed to be burial places, occur on the summits of hills, or on high, barren promontories that overlook the valleys and cañons, but in all their excavations they failed to discover the least trace of human remains, though in each, layers of charcoal or charred wood were found, which suggested the idea of cremation. Many writers agree that this method of disposing of the dead was practiced by these and other prehistoric peoples. Holmes continues: "That the placing of the stone inclosures", which bore the appearance of cemeteries, "occurred at a very early date, is attested by the growth of forest, which is at least three or four hundred years old. In a number of cases the stones are deeply embedded in the sides and roots of the trees." Similar remains were observed on a high promontory between the McElmo and Hovenweep Cañons.

After describing an ancient irregular village on the Rio La Plata, some twenty-five miles above its junction with the San Juan, and south of the line between Colorado and New Mexico, which stands on a low

terrace above the river bed, in a large, fertile valley, this writer says: "Nowhere about these ruins are there any considerable indications of defensive works, and the village, which is scattered over an area fully two miles in circuit, has no natural defensive advantages whatever. Neither are there traces of ditches nor anything else that might throw important light upon the habits and customs of the people. A few arrowheads and minute cutting implements were picked up. Countless chips of jasper, obsidian, and flint were scattered around, and the soil was literally full of fragments of painted and indented pottery."

In the neighborhood of the cave dwellings and towers of the Rio San Juan, "about thirty-five miles below the mouth of the La Plata, and ten miles above the Mancos, the river is bordered by low lines of bluffs, and at this particular place the vertical bluff face is from thirty-five to forty feet in height. Here are the remains of a ruined tower and a number of cave-like openings on the cliff face." In a large group situated on the Mancos, about ten miles above its mouth, "the walls were in many places quite well preserved and new-looking, while all about, high and low, were others in all stages of decay. In one place in particular a picturesque outstanding promontory has been full of dwellings—literally honeycombed by this earth-burrowing race. * * *

On the brink of the promontory above stands the ruin of a tower, still twelve feet high, and similar in most respects to those already described. These round towers are very numerous in the valley of the Mancos. * * *

In dimensions they range from ten to sixteen feet in diameter, and from five to fifteen feet in height, while the walls are from one to two feet in thickness. They are in nearly every case connected with other structures, nearly rectangular in form." This indicates very clearly the purpose of their construction. From these stations the surrounding country could be observed by the sentinels posted there, and warning immediately conveyed to the villagers of the approach of hostile forces.

"At the mouth of the Mancos, however, a double circle occurs, the smaller one having been the tower proper. It is fifteen feet in diame-

ter, and from eight to ten feet in height. The large circular wall is forty feet in diameter, and from two to four feet high, and is built tangent to the smaller. The ruin is at the point where the Mancos reaches the alluvial soil bordering the Rio San Juan, and about one mile above its junction with that river. * * * No single mile of the lower fifty of the Mancos is without such remains.

"Fifteen miles from its junction with the San Juan the Mancos emerges from the southwest border of the Mesa Verde, through which it has cut its way." This mesa comprises about seven hundred square miles of irregular tableland. The cañon is about thirty miles long, and from one to two thousand feet in depth. "It seems to have been a favorite resort of the cliff-building people, and traces of their industry may be found everywhere, along the bottoms, in the cliffs, and on the high, dry tablelands above." In some of these ruins various implements, some complete pottery vessels, and many fragments of others, charred corn, with here and there traces of fires, were observed, the walls and ceilings of some of the buildings being blackened by smoke. The inevitable circular estufa was also a feature of each group. "It has been supposed heretofore that the occupants of these houses obtained water either from the river below or from springs on the mesa above; but the immense labor of carrying water up these cliffs, as well as the impossibility of securing a supply in case of siege," suggest the existence of springs or reservoirs in the cliffs themselves, or on the mesas. That they were so supplied will hereafter appear. In some of these places living springs exist to this day, but in others, where no traces are seen, it may be taken for granted that they did exist somewhere near at hand, but have been filled and buried by drifting sands or dust storms, and thus concealed from the explorers of our time.

"Between the Mesa Verde and the Late Mountains, of which Ute Peak is the culminating point, there is a long, deep valley, or strip of lowland, that connects the great lowland of the Lower Mancos with the cañon-cut plain that rises toward the Dolores. The southern end of this depressed strip drains into the Mancos, the northern into the

McElmo. The latter stream heads along the north base of the Mesa Verde, within five miles of the Mancos at the point where it enters this cañon, and flows westward, passing along the north base of Ute Mountain, curving around to the southwest, and reaching the San Juan nearly ten miles beyond the Utah line. The large depressed area drained by this stream, contains a great number of ruins, many of which have been," not at all, or only casually, examined.

The most imposing pile of masonry yet found in Colorado, is at Aztec Spring, between the Mesa Verde and Late Mountains, near the divide between the McElmo and the Lower Mancos drainage. "The whole group covers an area of about 480,000 square feet, and has an average depth of from three to four feet. This would give in the vicinity of 1,500,000 solid feet of stone work. The stone used is chiefly fossiliferous limestone, that outcrops along the base of the Mesa Verde, a mile or more away, and its transportation to this place has doubtless been a great work for a people so totally without facilities. The upper house is rectangular, measures 80 by 100 feet, and is built with the cardinal points to within five degrees. The pile is from twelve to fifteen feet in height, and its massiveness suggests an original height at least twice as great. The walls seem to have been double, with a space of seven feet between; a number of cross walls at regular intervals, indicate that this space has been divided into apartments. The walls are twenty-six inches thick, and are built of roughly dressed stones, which were probably laid in mortar, as in other cases. * * * Inclosing this great house is a network of fallen walls, so completely reduced that none of the stones seem to remain in place." The purpose of the structure is, of course, unknown. Here again we find two estufas in the southern wing. "The lower house is two hundred feet in length by one hundred and eighty feet in width, and its walls vary fifteen degrees from the cardinal points. The northern wall is double, and contains a row of eight apartments about seven feet wide by twenty-four in length. The walls of the other sides are low, and seem to have

served simply to inclose the great court, near the center of which is a large walled depression.

"The dry, sloping plain between the Mesa Verde and the Rio Dolores seems also to have been a favorite resort of the town-building tribes. Numerous ruins occur along the borders of the cañons that drain into the McElmo, and especially near the heads of these cañons, where springs usually occur. At the south bend of the Dolores there are a great number of ruins, many of which compare favorably with the lowland ruins farther south." About the sources of the Hovenweep and Montezuma Creeks there are occasional ruins, but of inconsiderable importance. A very large and interesting one is seen on the Animas River, which Dr. Newberry describes as follows:

"The houses are many of them large, and all of them built of stone, hammer dressed on the exposed faces. Fragments of pottery are exceedingly common, though, like the buildings, showing great age. There is every evidence that a large population resided here for many years, perhaps centuries, and that they deserted it several hundred years ago; that they were pueblo Indians, and hence peaceful, industrious, and agricultural. The ruins of several reservoirs, built of masonry, may be seen at Suronara, and there are traces of acequias which led to these, through which water was brought, perhaps from a great distance." Bourke,* who visited the Moquis in 1884, mentions an old pueblo situated fourteen miles from the Moqui agency, near which is a marked depression of not less than one hundred acres in area, which was undoubtedly used as a reservoir for storing water from melted snow and rain. Later, while with the Zunis, they informed him of similar reservoirs on the summit of Toyalani Mountain, near their town, which were constructed by their ancestors, and adds that "the prehistoric race inhabiting this part of America, the ancestors of the present Moquis and Zunis, must have been farmers of extended acquirements for savages. They are to be credited with the construction of reservoirs wherever needed, near their building sites, with the exca-

* Snake Dance of the Moquis, John G. Bourke, U. S. A., 1884.

vation of irrigating ditches, the utilization of all springs and tanks, and all other provisions against the contingency of drouth." In another part of his work he speaks of following an old trail leading to a reservoir, "still holding many hundreds of gallons of water. Sand had drifted in, and the masonry-retaining walls had been broken away, but with very little labor it might be restored, and made as good as ever, with a capacity of from 15,000 to 20,000 gallons."

Holmes describes the ruins of Ojo Caliente and those near Abiquiu, New Mexico, and compares them with those of Colorado. At the former the buildings are chiefly of adobe, and contain rows of apartments surrounding a number of large open courts, and including, as everywhere else, the estufas, without which no village was complete. He devotes a page to pictographic writings, and while it cannot be positively asserted that these belong to the age of the cliff builders, the evidence points very strongly in that direction. Some are found on the cliffs and in the niches with the lofty dwellings, while all are in localities that must have been the frequent resorts of the ancient peoples. Some are found in the cañons of the Mancos, others on the bluffs of the San Juan, and many in the cañons further west. They are chipped into the rock by some very hard implement, and rudely represent human figures. He regards them, not as attempts to represent nature, but rather as arbitrary forms intended to symbolize imaginary beings. Others are painted in red and white clay upon the smooth surfaces of the rocks. These, he concludes, were certainly the work of the cliff builders, and executed while the houses were being constructed, the material being identical with the plaster then employed.

"Again, on the Rio San Juan, about ten miles below the mouth of the Rio La Plata, a low line of bluffs, composed of light-colored massive sandstones that break down in great smooth-faced blocks, rises from the river level, and sweeps around to the north. Each of these great blocks has offered a tempting tablet to the graver of the primitive artist, and many of them contain curious and interesting inscriptions. * * * They are all engraved or cut into the face of the

rock, and the whole body of each figure has generally been chipped out, frequently to the depth of one-fourth or one-half an inch." On some of the larger groups some skill and great labor have been expended, and evidently with a view to the perpetuity of the record thus perfected. Nearly all bear the traces of great age. "Among all the figures given of the ancient work there is no animal that resembles a horse, and we can hardly suppose that artists who could so cleverly delineate birds and deer and men, would fail in an attempt to represent an animal of so marked a character." We find in the narrative of Coronado's march that the natives were astounded at sight of the horses, and were inclined to worship them as gods. Like incidents occurred all along the line of De Soto's expedition from Tampa to Kansas. As Coronado brought the first sheep to the cliff and cave dwellers of the West, so De Soto gave to the aborigines of the South their first knowledge of swine. It is quite clear that up to the time of these invasions the natives of both sections were utterly ignorant of these animals.

One of the most striking inscriptions consists of "a great procession of men, birds, beasts, and fanciful figures. The whole picture as placed upon the rock, is highly spirited, and the idea of a general movement toward the right skillfully portrayed. A pair of winged figures hover above the train, as if to watch or direct its movements; behind these are a number of odd figures, followed by an antlered animal, resembling a deer, which seems to be drawing a notched sledge, containing two figures of men. The figures forming the main body of the procession appear to be tied together in a continuous line, and in form resemble one living creature about as little as another. Many of the smaller figures above and below are certainly intended to represent dogs, while a number of men are stationed about here and there as if to keep the procession in order."

The meaning of this labored and ill-defined pictography is, of course, untranslatable. It may be accepted as a myth, or the crude portrayal of some historical event, attending the migration of the race from another home to this; the annals of some victory accomplished,

or remarkable incident in the life, or among the traditions of their race. Darkness envelopes its definition, and it will probably forever remain unsolved.

Holmes next proceeds to give an account of the ancient pottery found among the ruins, the invariable accompaniment of ancient remains the world over. He finds the study of the different wares to be highly interesting, and the immense quantity a constant source of wonder. A collection of the fragments of vessels, of manifestly different designs, within a certain space, resulted in the discovery that within ten feet square there were pieces of fifty-five different vessels. He says, "The pottery of the ancient tribes of the San Juan Valley is undoubtedly superior in many respects to that of the town building tribes of to-day," and especially in composition and surface finish. But in form and ornamentation it is inferior to like wares found among the Moquis and Zunis, yet "there is great similarity in every respect, and the differences do not seem greater than could be expected in the manufacture of the same people at periods separated by a few generations, or even of related tribes of the same time, surrounded by different physical features, or by different neighbors."

The material used was a fine clay—obtainable in any part of the country—tempered with sand, or pulverized shells. "The modeling was done almost exclusively with the hand; no wheel has been used, and no implement whatever, except for the surface creasings or indentings." Nearly all had been baked or burned, evidently by sinking them in the ground and building light fires about them. Most of the vessels were coated with some preparation of mineral paint or varnish, which gave them an attractive finish.

Fragments of pottery of like character to that collected in the San Juan country, have been obtained and preserved by government exploring parties in the South and West, and the best of them placed in the National Museum. A comparison of these with the specimens gathered in the San Juan, shows them to be identical in every respect. This fact has an important bearing upon the declaration that the cliff

and cave dwellers of ancient times were distributed over an immense area, and leads us nearer and nearer to the conclusion that the Zuni and the Moqui Indians of the present day are the direct descendants of those tribes. We shall discover other connections in the progress of our inquiries, though we may never penetrate far enough into the darkness of past ages to discover the source from which they sprang. Mr. Holmes concludes his report with the following deductions :

“The ancient peoples of the San Juan country were doubtless the ancestors of the present pueblo tribes of New Mexico and Arizona. A comparison of the ancient and the modern architecture, and a consideration of the geographical relation of the ancient and modern pueblos, lead very decidedly to this conclusion. They have at one time or other occupied a very extensive area, which includes the greater part of the drainage of the Rio Colorado. Their occupation of this region dates back very many centuries, as attested by the extent of the remains, and their advanced stage of decay. The final abandonment of the cliff and cave dwellings has occurred at a comparatively recent date, certainly subsequent to the Spanish conquest. The lowland remains, the extensive pueblos and great towers are generally in a very much more advanced state of ruin than the cliff defences. It is possible that the latter owe their construction to events that immediately preceded the expulsion of the pueblo tribes from this region. The cliff builders were probably not greatly superior to the modern pueblos in any of the arts, and I doubt if they could boast of a state of civilization equally advanced.” Finally, it is believed that when properly directed excavations of the more important ruins shall be undertaken by experienced antiquarians, much new light will be obtained.

Here it may be pertinent to interject a suggestion of duty to the State authorities, that these wonderful remains should be protected by law from the vandalism of our own citizens and the multitude of tourists who, at no distant day, will make pilgrimage to them. Here are the records of our ancient history ; and unless shielded from further destruction, by statutes faithfully enforced, in a few years they will have

passed entirely away. Clay models of the better classes of these antique dwellings, have already been made by the general government. Duplicates should be secured and placed in the museum of the State Capitol when completed, with the collection of the State Historical Society, and thus preserved for the study of those who are unable to visit the originals.

In W. H. Jackson's* report, which follows that of Holmes, many interesting details respecting the construction of the cliff and cave dwellings are given. About twelve miles below the Montezuma, upon a bluff something over two hundred feet in height above the stream, there is a very large circular cave which occupies nearly the entire face of the bluff. "It runs back in a semi-circular sweep to a depth of one hundred feet; the top is a perfect half dome, and the lower half only less so from the accumulation of debris, and the thick, brushy foliage. The houses occupy the left hand or eastern half of the cave, for the reason, probably, that the ledge was wider on that side, and the wall back of it receded in such a manner as to give considerable additional room for the second floor, or for the upper part of the one-story rooms. It is about fifty feet from the outer edge of the cave to the first building, a small structure, sixteen feet long and three feet wide at the outer end, and four at the opposite end. Then succeeded an open space eleven feet wide and nine deep, that served probably as a sort of workshop. Four holes were drilled into the smooth rock floor about six feet equi-distant apart, each from six to ten inches deep and five in diameter, as perfectly round as if drilled by machinery." This suggested the probability of looms and weaving, with which we know some of these people were at one time familiar, and that these drill holes served to keep the loom in place. Here also were a number of grooves worn into the rock, which appear to have been used for polishing stone implements. "The main building comes next, occupying the widest portion of the ledge, which gives an average width of ten feet inside; it is forty-eight feet long outside, and twelve high,

*Mr. Jackson has for some years been a resident of Denver.

divided inside into three rooms, the first two $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet each in length, and the third 16 feet, divided into two stories, the lower and upper five feet in height. * * * Window-like apertures afforded communication between the rooms all through the second story, excepting that which opened out to the back of the cave." In each lower room, looking out to the open country, there was a small window about a foot square, while in the upper the openings were very much smaller. In the large building there were twelve apartments of irregular sizes, all connected by apertures like those mentioned above. No trace of roofing or flooring material was found, as everything of that kind had been thoroughly burned away, or otherwise removed. "In the central room of the main building we found a circular, basin-like depression thirty inches across and ten deep, that had served as a fireplace, being still filled with the ashes and cinders of aboriginal fires, the surrounding walls being blackened with smoke and soot." This is supposed to have been the kitchen of the primitive mansion, but some of the others appear to have served a like purpose. "The masonry displayed in the construction of the walls is very creditable; a symmetrical curve is preserved throughout the whole line, and every portion perfectly plumb; the subdivisions are at right angles to the front. The stones employed are of the size used in all similar structures, and are roughly broken to a uniform size. More attention seems to have been paid to securing a smooth appearance upon the exterior than the interior surfaces, the clay cement being spread to a perfectly plane surface, something like stucco finish." On much of this work the imprint of the fashioning hand is left, showing even the delicate lines of the thumbs and fingers. Being small and shapely, it is quite clear that the finishing coat was laid by women. "In the mortar between the stones several corn cobs were found embedded, and in other places the whole ear of corn had been pressed into the clay, leaving its impression. The ears were quite small, none more than five inches long." A few implements of stone, arrowheads, and fragments of pottery, were the only remains. According to Mr. Jackson, the

general appearance of the place and its surroundings indicated that these people were of rather aristocratic pretensions, several degrees above the common herd of their people. Under this impression he weaves the following picturesque vision of the family and the scene as they may have appeared in the olden time: "Looking out from one of their houses, with a great dome of solid rock overhead, that echoed and re-echoed every word uttered with marvelous distinctness, and below them a steep descent of one hundred feet to the broad fertile valley of the Rio San Juan, covered with waving fields of maize and scattered groves of majestic cottonwoods, these old people, whom even the imagination can hardly clothe with reality, must have felt a sense of security that even the incursions of their barbarous foes could hardly have disturbed." And so to sanctify the vision, he christens this ruin "Casa del Eco."

The ruins along the Rio De Chelley are next described, all resembling, or at least bearing the same general characteristics of structure, with pottery accompaniments, as along the Hovenweep and other streams. On Epsom Creek there are many cave dwellings; indeed, wherever these indefatigable explorers penetrated were traces of the same people and the same periods of time. Mr. Jackson considers the ruins on the Chaco Cañon of Northern New Mexico as pre-eminently the finest examples of the numerous remains of these ancient builders to be found north of the seat of the ancient Aztec empire. The dwellings here are identical in structure, position, and the uses to which they were put with those of the pueblos further south, and now inhabited, and were entered in the same manner by means of ladders. "The masonry as it is displayed in the construction of the walls, is the most wonderful feature in these ancient habitations, and is in striking contrast to the careless and rude methods shown in the dwellings of the existing pueblos. Those of Moqui, Taos, and probably Acoma, were in no better condition when first discovered by the Spaniards nearly three hundred and fifty years ago, than they are now, and how much older these perfect buildings were then than the rude piles of

adobe and uncut stone found by the first conquerors, the past can only tell, and that is dead and buried."

Speaking of the pueblo of Chettro Kettle, or the Rain Pueblo, the largest of the old perfect rectangles, he affirms that in this ruin there was at one time a line of wall running around three sides of the building nine hundred and thirty-five feet in length, and about forty feet in height, giving 37,400 square feet of surface, and as an average of fifty pieces of stone appeared within the space of every square foot, this would give nearly two million pieces for the outer surface of the wall alone; multiplying this by the opposite surface, and also by the interior and transverse lines of masonry, and supposing a symmetrical terracing, we will find that it will swell the total up into more than thirty millions embraced within about 315,000 cubic feet of masonry. Let the modern observer conceive, if he can, what is involved in this well nigh incredible achievement; the enormous labor, the patient energy, the perfect discipline, and withal, the inborn patriotism of these people in raising these vast monuments which testify to all succeeding generations of their civilization, industry and enterprise. All the stones had first to be quarried with the rude implements which only were known to them, and these of stone or wood; brought by hand great distances to the building site, and there each particular block fashioned to fit the place designed for it. Then, too, there were massive timbers to be felled in the forests, hewn to exact measurement, and conveyed by hand, for they had no animals, and then fitted to their places in the great edifice. One can well imagine that hundreds, and perhaps thousands, were employed on this edifice, and that years were consumed in bringing it to completion.

Dr. W. J. Hoffman, the ethnologist of the expedition, in describing and commenting upon the crania discovered by Jackson, in Chaco Cañon, endeavors to find in their structure some traces of the origin of these ancient races. He writes: "It has been supposed by various prominent ethnologists, and old writers, that there had been, in remote times, a migration toward the regions in various directions northward

from Mexico. In time a return is traced, some assuming Aztlan to have been the point of departure, while a large and long continued influx of people came from a country or kingdom in the Northeast. Language has left its impression among various existing races, and we find great affinity between that of the Natchez, who formerly occupied the lower portion of the Mississippi Valley, and the Mayas (of Yucatan). Greater affinity is observable among many of the tribes scattered southward through Mexico into Central America, and similar customs, to a remarkable degree, can be traced." Among these is head flattening, a custom practiced by many tribes of North American Indians, beginning soon after birth, and continuing until the effect desired was produced. He finds a relationship, not only between the ancient cliff dwellers and the modern pueblos, but with the Aztecs. "The general designs in ornamentation appear traceable in the Aztec pottery and the ruins at Mitla, Mexico, only in a higher state of cultivation. At the latter place the designs have appeared upon the walls of the ruined temple, and upon a grander scale. The Aztec traditions of a northwest origin, are strongly in favor of such a hypothesis, besides numerous arguments which might be brought to bear upon the subject." In a succeeding chapter, the question of origin will be more fully considered. The most remarkable feature of the pottery wares found in the pueblos of Arizona "is that there are numerous fac similes of those found upon the walls of Mitla," and gives rise to the presumption, at least, "that the Moquis, Zunis, and the Pueblos were more closely allied in remote times, and that to this alliance belonged the cliff dwellers whose identity appears to have merged with the Aztecs."

Since the foregoing was prepared, a New York paper has published the discovery of cliff dwellings, in great numbers, in Morocco, "which are now, and probably have been inhabited from the time of their first construction. These dwellings, in all particulars, are like those found in Arizona and New Mexico. It was not until last year that the Moors would permit any examination of the cliff dwellings, which have long been known to exist, some days' journey to the southwest of the city

of Morocco. The strange city of the cave dwellers is almost exactly like some of those in New Mexico, and other Territories, which archæologists have explored. The dwellings were dug out of the solid rock, and many of them are over two hundred feet above the bottom of the valley. The face of the cliff is in places perpendicular, and it is believed that the troglodytes could have reached their dwellings only with the aid of rope ladders. Some of them contain three rooms, the largest of which are about 17x9 feet, and the walls of the larger rooms are generally pierced by windows. Nothing is known as to who these cave dwellers are."

CHAPTER IV.

OUR PREHISTORIC RACES—ETHNOLOGICAL REVELATIONS—ANCIENT INHABITANTS AND THEIR WORKS—SOME HIGHLY INTERESTING DISCOVERIES—OPINIONS OF SCIENTISTS—EACH CONTINENT MAY HAVE PRODUCED ITS OWN RACE—OLD THEORIES OF ORIGINAL MIGRATIONS OVERTURNED BY THE EXHUMATION OF HUMAN REMAINS AT GREAT DEPTHS—THE LIGHT OF MODERN INVESTIGATION LEADS TO STARTLING CONCLUSIONS—DISCOVERY OF THE MOUND BUILDERS—EMIGRATION OF THE ANCIENT RACES WESTWARD—DESCENT OF THE AZTECS FROM THE NORTHWEST UPON THE TOLTECS OF MEXICO—THE BUILDERS OF THE SPLENDID TEMPLES IN YUCATAN—ANTIQUITY OF MAN UPON THE CONTINENT OF AMERICA.

Intelligent and vigorously prosecuted research through monumental and other remains for the origin of the prehistoric races of our continent by eminent ethnologists, of the Old and New Worlds, has dispelled much of the mystery that formerly enveloped them. The traces found by early explorers have been persistently and patiently followed, and the hieroglyphs deciphered, one by one, until the revelation, if not complete, is at least made so clear that all may understand its meaning. One of the more recent and valuable papers on the subject was read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in August, 1887, by Daniel G. Brinton, Vice-President and Chairman of the Section of Anthropology, in which it is stated that the prehistoric period of America dates back from the discovery of the several parts of the continent, and to reconstruct the history of the various nations who inhabited both Americas at this period, resort is had, by many writers, to the testimony furnished by legends and traditions. While these often bear a strong resemblance to Semitic or other oriental myths, they prove but little, and are not regarded as trustworthy sources of information. The annals of the Mexicans, the Mayas

of Yucatan, and the Quichuas of Peru, he declares, carry us scarcely 600 years beyond the voyage of Columbus. The more savage tribes, particularly, remember nothing more remote than a couple of centuries. The more famous of the monumental remains are the stone buildings of Mexico, Peru, and Central America. Many give to these an antiquity of thousands of years, but a calm weighing of the testimony places them all well within our era, and most of them within a few centuries of the discovery. Pursuing the argument, it is found that the celebrated remains of Tiahuanuco in Peru are no exception. Some of the artificial shell heaps, along the coast, are of greater antiquity. These contain bones and shells of extinct species, in intimate connection with stone implements and pottery, and furnish data to prove that the land was inhabited several thousand years ago. Again, the industrial activity of man in America may be traced by the remains of his weapons, ornaments, and tools, made of stone, bone, and shell. In most of the deposits examined, specimens of polished stone and pottery testify to a reasonably developed skill; but in the Trenton gravels, and a few other localities, genuine paleolithic remains have been found, putting man in America at a date coeval with the close of the glacial age, if not earlier. The vast antiquity of the American race is further proved by the extensive dissemination of maize (corn) and tobacco,—tropical plants of Southern Mexico,—which were cultivated from the latitude of Canada to that of Patagonia.

Turning to the matter of language, it is believed there are about two hundred radically different languages in North and South America. Such a confusion of tongues, he thinks, could only have arisen in hundreds of centuries. The study of these languages and of the gradual growth of their dialects, supplies valuable data for the ancient history of the continent.

But here follows the most remarkable declaration of all, that the American race *is as distinctively a race by itself* as the African, or White race. Although varying in many points, it has a marked fixedness of ethnic anatomy, and always had. The oldest American crania,

collected from the most ancient quaternary deposits, are thoroughly American in type. Finally, as the discovery of implements in the glacial deposits locates man on this continent, at least, at the close of the glacial epoch, this carries his residence here to about 35,000 years ago. But there is no likelihood that he came into being on this continent. He could not have been developed from any of the known fossil mammalia which dwelt here. More probably some colonies first migrated along the pre-glacial land bridge which once connected Northern America with Western Europe. Later, others came from Asia. At that time the physical geography of the northern hemisphere was widely different from the present.

The same line of thought and study leads Nadaillac, the eminent French scientist, to exclaim, after long and patient but ineffectual effort to solve the mystery: "Who and what were the first inhabitants of America? Whence did they come? To what immigration was their arrival due? By what disaster were they destroyed? By what route did they reach these unknown lands? Must we admit different centers of creation? And were the primeval Americans born on American soil? Could evolution and natural selection, those principles so fully accepted by the modern school, have produced on the shores of the Atlantic and the Pacific a type of man resembling the European and the Asiatic, alike in the structure of his frame, and in his intellectual development?" Great and formidable problems these, but men have undertaken to solve them, with what effect we shall discover in the course of this compilation from the discoveries and opinions of many distinguished writers. But, answering his own inquiries cited above, Nadaillac declares that "we are already in a position to assert that the earliest vestiges of man in America and in Europe resemble each other exactly, and by no means the least extraordinary part of the case is, that in the New as in the Old World, men began the struggle for existence with almost identical means." And now comes the veteran Schoolcraft, with many volumes of notes gathered during the greater part of a long life passed among the different tribes of Indians, with

the tacit yet half-reluctant admission that each continent may have produced, and probably did produce, its own race. He says, "The results of scientific investigation thus far, though incomplete, render it by no means improbable that man is as old here as anywhere else." Professor Agassiz was of the opinion that "so far as her physical history is concerned, America has been falsely denominated the New World. Hers was the first dry land lifted out of the waters, hers the first shore washed by the ocean that enveloped all the earth beside, and while Europe was represented by islands rising here and there above the sea, America already stretched an unbroken line of land from Nova Scotia to the Far West."

H. H. Bancroft asserts that "no theory of foreign origin has been proved, or even fairly sustained. The particulars in which the Americans are shown to resemble any given people of the Old World, are insignificant in comparison with the particulars in which they do not resemble them. If this continent was peopled from the Old World, it must have been at a period far remote." All modern investigators are in full accord upon this point, however widely they may differ as to the main question involved.

Bancroft concludes very properly since nothing definite is known, that "the question must be settled in accordance, not with the old chronology, but with the discoveries of modern science," upon which there is no disagreement. Bunsen claims for the Indian an antiquity of at least twenty thousand years, based on a common origin of language. On the whole, it seems probable that each continent has had its aboriginal stock, peculiar in color and in character, and that each has experienced repeated modifications by immigrating, or shipwrecked colonists from abroad. All the present distinct types of races were equally well defined when human history begins. No variety has since been originated. "The best of the argument as to this unsettled question—the unity of the human race,"—says Wallace, the naturalist, "is with those who maintain the primitive diversity of man."

The late Prof. J. W. Foster, in contemplating the remains of the

Mound Builders, was led to believe that "their civilization was of an older and higher order than that of the Aztecs, and that they were of Southern origin." Also that "the ruins of Central America are more recent than the mounds of the Mississippi Valley." His examination of the crania of the Mound Builders induced the inference that they were distinctly separated from existing races, and especially from those of North America. Reasoning from "the distinctive character of these structures (the mounds) and the traditions which have come down to us," Foster says, "they indicate that these people were expelled from the Mississippi Valley by a fierce and barbarous race, and that they found a refuge in the more genial climate of Central America, where they developed their germs of civilization originally planted there, attaining a perfection which has elicited the admiration of every modern explorer." Is it not possible, to say nothing of the probability, that in the migration of these people,—the Mound Builders,—to the west and southward, some remnants may have halted and established themselves in the valley of the San Juan, the Rio Grande, and in New Mexico, while the main body continued on toward Anahuac? Davis* tells us that "the first Spaniards who penetrated into New Mexico, found the Indians in substantially the same condition as they are at the present time, and when Cortez entered Southern Mexico he encountered a race of men inhabiting that country almost identical with the Pueblo Indians, in style of living, manners and customs." Gallatin and other well-informed writers declare that the language of the Indian gives no trace of his origin. "No theories of derivation from the Old World," according to Hayden, "have stood the test of grammatical construction. All traces of the fugitive tribes of Israel, supposed to be found here, are again lost. Neither Phœnician, nor Hindoo, nor Chinese, nor Welsh, nor Scandinavian, have left any impression of their national syntax behind them." Nearly all races of men have preserved some legend of a deluge which covered the earth and destroyed all save a limited

*El Gringo.

number, in some cases a family, in others an individual, and in others still, only a pair, whence sprang the new races and the rehabilitation of mankind. And it is equally interesting to know that in every instance it was the ancestry of the people who related the legend, reminding one of Dante's *Inferno*, which peoples Hades with Italians, and devises the most awful punishments for those who in their lifetime persecuted him, his family, or particular friends. Among these traditions are many which relate to the arrival of Europeans about the close of the tenth century. "Most of the tribes possess traditions of the first appearance of white men amongst them, and some name the place." "Montezuma told Cortez* of a foreign connection between the Aztecs and the natives of the Old World, and led him to assure the conqueror of a relationship with the Spanish crown in the line of sovereigns." Clavigero, in confirmation of this idea, reports the following speech by Montezuma to Cortez: "I would have you to understand before you begin your discourse, that we are not ignorant, or stand in need of your persuasions to believe that the great Prince you obey is descended from our ancient Quetzalcoatl, Lord of the Seven Caves of the Navatlaques, and lawful king of those seven nations which gave beginning to our Mexican Empire. By one of his prophecies, which we receive as an infallible truth, and by a tradition of many ages preserved in our annals, we know that he departed from these countries to conquer new regions in the East, leaving a promise that in process of time his descendants should return to model our laws, and mend our government."

"But whatever their origin," says Schoolcraft, "when first observed, the Indians presented all the leading traits and characteristics of the present day. Of all races on the face of the earth, in features, manners and customs, they have apparently changed the least, preserving their physical and mental types with the fewest alterations. They continue to reproduce themselves as a race, even when their manners are comparatively polished and their intellects enlightened, as

*Schoolcraft.



C. F. Meek

if they were bound by the iron fetters of an unchanging type. In this unvarying and indomitable individuality, and in their fixity of opinion and general idiosyncrasy, they certainly remind the reader of Oriental races—of the Semitic family of man. The same indestructibility of type, the same non-progressiveness of the Indian-Oriental mind, is perceived in the race in every part of the continent. The Indian mind appears to have no intellectual propulsion, no analytic tendencies. It reproduces the same ideas in 1880 as in 1492."

In cultivation, intelligence, forms of government, discipline, councils of peace or war, the same variations appear in the tribes of to-day as have characterized all ages. While some are rich and prosperous, well governed and powerful, others occupy the lowest stations. For example, compare the Sioux with the Diggers. Verily, our historians are correct in defining the situation of the Indian of all prior epochs as unchanging and unchangeable, making no progress, and without ambition, except for war and the chase.,

The Aztecs descended upon, overthrew the Toltecs, and occupied their country about three centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards, founding their capital on the site of the present City of Mexico. Thus they became the rulers of an immense empire, extending from the Pacific to the Gulf of Mexico. As one tribe after another rebelled and repossessed themselves of their hereditary territory, the original limits were from time to time restricted. When Cortez came the Toltec malcontents joined him in his war upon the Aztecs, and rendered excellent service in his campaigns. When asked as to the country of their origin, the Toltecs, Chichimecs and Aztecs alike pointed to the north. They moved southward because the lands were more fertile, and the climate more genial. It is not improbable that their exodus southward was hastened by a more barbarous and warlike people. Pursuing this line of thought, we are led to the Mound Builders as the progenitors of all the southern and western races, until we are met by a counter proposition evolved from recent discoveries, that there is no reasonable ground for supposing that the builders of the remarkable and fre-

quently beautiful monuments and temples in Mexico, and those in Central America, were in any way connected.

Nadaillac concludes his investigations with this striking summary: "Multitudes of races and nations have arisen upon the American Continent, and have disappeared, leaving no trace but ruins, mounds, a few wrought stones, or fragments of pottery. * * * All those whom we are disposed to call aborigines are, perhaps, but the conquerors of other races that preceded them. Conquerors and conquered are forgotten in a common oblivion, and the names of both have passed from the memory of man." But he finds one fact to be incontestibly established, that "man existed in the Old World in the quaternary period. He was the contemporary, and often the victim, of large animals, the strength of which can be estimated from the skeletons preserved in the museums." Again, we have undeniable proof that "the first Americans too, were contemporary with gigantic animals, which, like their conquerors of Europe, have passed away, never to return."

Referring to the glacial period, and the inundations, accompanied by violent torrents, which ensued, whereby we have the modifications of the earth's surface of the present time, Putnam says, "Man lived through these convulsions; he survived the floods, as the recent discoveries by Dr. Abbott, in the glacial deposits of the Delaware, near Trenton, New Jersey, seem to prove beyond a doubt." Like testimony, in the form of human and animal remains, with stone and other implements, curiously and quaintly fashioned, which could only have been done by the hand of man, is abundant in many localities.

Bancroft relates that, in the Sierra Nevadas, and at various places on the Pacific coast, numerous traces of the presence of man are met with. "The discovery of implements or weapons, at a depth of several hundred feet, in diversely stratified beds, showing no trace of displacement, simply implies that the country was peopled many centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards, and that the inhabitants were witnesses of the convulsions of nature, of the volcanic phenomena which brought about such remarkable changes. But when the bones of man,

and the results of his very primitive industry, are associated with the remains of animals which have been extinct for a period of time of which it is difficult to estimate the length, it is impossible not to date the existence of that man from the most remote antiquity. These facts are confirmed in California, Colorado, and Wyoming, wherever a search has been possible."

At many points throughout the country, traces of ancient mining, too, are found, manifestly long anterior to the Spanish invasion. This is notably true of the old cinnabar mines, in California, in one of which, beneath a mass of debris, the skeletons of primitive miners were found, and beside them the rude implements with which the excavations were made. The same is true of some of the copper mines of Lake Superior. But perhaps the most remarkable discovery has been announced by Professor J. D. Whitney, which, for a time, until more fully investigated, gave rise to doubt, and was seriously questioned by scientists. Whitney was the director of the Geological Survey of California, and in the course of his explorations, discovered in Calaveras county a skull nearly complete, at a depth of about one hundred and thirty feet, in a bed of auriferous gravel. "The deposit rested upon a bed of lava, and was covered with several layers, some of lava, some of volcanic deposits, overlying beds of gravel." From which Nadaillac argues: "If the facts reported be correct, the waters have more than once invaded the districts inhabited by man, and burning lava from volcanoes has dried up the rivers at their sources. The skull was embedded in consolidated gravel, in which were several other fragments of human bones, the remains of some small mammals, which it was impossible to class, and a shell of a land snail. Beside these lay some completely fossilized wood." Gravels identical with those just mentioned, in various sections of the Sierra Nevadas, have yielded the remains of extinct animals. "There are deposits in California and Oregon where, to use a popular expression, the remains of elephants and mastodons might be had by the wagon load." Certain sections of Colorado, Kansas, and Nebraska, once covered by a vast inland sea, are filled with wonderful

remains of the cretaceous age, but thus far, we believe, few remains of importance have been exhumed. In the regions previously mentioned, gigantic pachydermata, with the Palæolama, the Elotherium, the bones of extinct oxen, Hipparion, and several kinds of horses, have been brought to light.

Professor Whitney sustains his theory respecting the great antiquity of man upon the Pacific Coast, by citing the discovery of many implements, as lance points, stone hatchets, mortars for pulverizing maize, and so on, all buried deeply beneath beds of lava and gravel. He writes: "My chief interest now centers in the human remains, and in the works from the hand of man, that have been found in the tertiary strata of California, the existence of which I have been able to verify within the last few months. Evidence has now accumulated to such an extent that I feel no hesitation in saying that we have unequivocal proofs of the existence of man on the Pacific Coast prior to the glacial period, prior to the period of the mastodon and the elephant, at a time when animal and vegetable life were entirely different from what they are now, and since which a vertical erosion of from two to three thousand feet of hard rock strata has taken place." This positive announcement gave rise to some rather heated discussions among the wise men of the schools; but, though doubted, the statement has not been overthrown. The American editor of Nadaillac, after a critical survey of all the facts, comes to Whitney's support with the declaration that "no reasonable person, who has impartially reviewed the evidence brought together by Whitney, and who saw, as we did, the Calaveras skull, in its original condition, can doubt that it was found, as alleged by the discoverers, in the auriferous gravels below the lava," but adds, "The only question to which some uncertainty still attaches itself among geologists, is that of the true age of these gravels, in geological time, and whether all the extinct species of which remains are found in them were contemporaneous with the deposition of the gravels, and with the then undoubted presence of man." Nadaillac himself continues, "If, however, we hesitate as yet to admit"—observe the caution—"the exist-

ence of man on the American Continent in the tertiary period, it is difficult to deny that long centuries have rolled by since the time when these unknown men lived amongst animals as little known as themselves. This is, in the present stage of prehistoric science, the only decision possible."

This much, however, has been settled beyond controversy, that men inhabited caves, notably in various parts of France and Belgium in the quaternary period, since their remains in a remarkable state of preservation have been found. Like remains have also been discovered by the very earliest explorers in the ancient caves of Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia. Add to this the well authenticated discoveries nearer home in California, among caves, whose walls were covered with admirably preserved drawings representing men and animals of which we have little if any knowledge, and in others of well preserved mummies, brought to light by the Spaniards when they came and began to scour the country in their fierce thirst for gold and valuable plunder accumulated, and, as they believed, concealed by the natives, and the story is measurably complete. Clavigero writes that "these men differed as much in their features as in the garments with which they were covered, from the races met with by the Spaniards." Again, we are told by authority of those who saw, that from a cave in the Rio Narvaez Valley in the State of Durango, Mexico, a considerable number of mummies have been taken, of an appearance very distinct from the present inhabitants. Near them were the characteristic implements and weapons of their race, hatchets, arrow points and pottery vases, the decorations of the latter resembling those of the ancient Egyptians. Other discoveries of mummies have been found in our own day, within the present year, upon the Gila River, evidently of much antiquity.

In summing up his conclusions of the Mound Builders, Nadaillac decides, after a complete analysis of all the testimony that has been adduced, that the mystery hitherto surrounding them disappears under the statement from easily traceable sources of their history that they

were no more or less than the ancestors of the very Indians whom De Soto encountered in his wonderful tour of conquest from Tampa Bay to the Mississippi. "As in the far north, the Aleuts, up to the time of their discovery were, by the testimony of the shell heaps, as well as their language, the direct successors of the early Eskimo, so in the fertile basin of the Mississippi, the Indians were the builders of the singular and varied structures, to which scientists have for years directed their keenest researches." This opinion is shared by a large number of eminent archæologists, and is generally accepted as conclusive.

Carr, a distinguished authority, says, "Summing up the results that have been obtained, it may be safely said that so far from there being any *a priori* reason why the red Indians could not have erected these works, the evidence shows conclusively that in New York and the Gulf States they did build the mounds and embankments that are essentially of the same character as those found in Ohio. In view of these results, and of the additional fact that these same Indians are the only people, except the whites, who, so far as we know, ever held the region over which these works were scattered, it is believed we are fully justified in claiming that the mounds and inclosures of Ohio, like those of New York and the Gulf States, were the work of the red Indians, or of their immediate ancestors. To deny this conclusion, and to accept its alternative, ascribing these remains to a mythical people of a different civilization, is to reject a simple fact in favor of one that is far-fetched and incomplete, and this is neither science nor logic."

Thus one by one the scientific iconoclasts have overturned and cast down our cherished idols, dissipated our myths and legends until it would appear that all the shadowy mysteries which have shrouded antiquity, are but mere commonplace events, no more striking or startling than the current history of our own day and generation.

Since 1812, when the explorer Stephens made his famous and very charming report on the celebrated ruins of Yucatan, we have been lost in wonder as to who could have built them. In the absence of facts

the imagination raised from the depths of time a people different from any of the known races, and induced the conviction that owing to their similarity in some respects to the remotest works of the Egyptians, the builders might have migrated from that country to this by some means unknown to us, and continued in a strange land the labors interrupted by some historic change. But now comes the French ethnologist, M. De Charnay, with the latest developments of incontestible evidence gathered by himself on the spot, under the joint patronage of Pierre Lorillard of New York, and the Mexican Government, in a full and explicit publication of the facts. It is unnecessary for our present purpose to probe deeper into this interesting record than to recite the essential particulars. These are obtained from a review of De Charnay's elaborate work, entitled "The Ancient Cities of the New World," which appeared in "Harper's Magazine" for October, 1887. In dedicating the book to Mr. Lorillard, he expresses the belief that he has accomplished the main object of his mission, which was the reconstruction of the civilizations that have passed away, but more particularly in demonstrating that these civilizations had but one and the same origin; that they were Toltec, and comparatively modern. Humboldt, Stephens, and other learned investigators reached similar conclusions many years ago, but from less extensive examination. But M. De Charnay feels entirely convinced that he has proven beyond all reasonable doubt that "the original inhabitants of the continent came from the extreme East, and long after the flood," basing his conclusions upon the fact that their "architecture is so like that of the Japanese as to seem identical with it; that their decorative designs resemble those of the Chinese, and that their customs, habits, sculpture, language, castes, and policy, recall those of the Malays." The Toltecs, he states, "were one of the Nahuan tribes, which from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries spread over Mexico and Central America. They were, by common consent of historians, the most cultured of all their race, and better acquainted with the methods of perpetuating the traditions of their antiquity and their origin. They invented hiero-

glyphs and characters which, arranged after a certain method, recorded their history, on skins of animals, on aloe, or palm leaves; or they preserved their annals by means of knots of different colors, and also by simple allegorical songs. This manner of writing history by maps, knots (the knots are Chinese), and of songs, was handed down from father to son, and thus has come to the present time. All that the Toltecs did was well done, and their art and architecture were not only graceful, but delicate," as evidenced by their pottery and other works. Leaving the question of origin to conjecture, or later revelations, and confining himself to historical testimony, he begins with the arrival of the cultured Toltecs in Mexico, noting their establishment by colonies in the Valley of the Tula, their development on high plateaux, the disruption of their empire, showing how their industries and mechanical arts were transmitted from generation to generation, and to their successors, the Aztecs, and finally following them in their exodus, traces their civilization throughout Central America, where we will leave them, and resume the thread of our narrative, which relates more especially to the prehistoric peoples of our own country, or Colorado.

And now, after a careful examination of the better authorities who have attempted to discover the origin of man upon this continent, and especially the origin of the people who built the cliff dwellings, the ancient pueblos, who excavated and inhabited the caves found within our State, in New Mexico and Arizona, we go back to the original question,—Were they Toltec or Aztec? without a definite answer. All we know, or can unravel, is that they were a very ancient people, and here our knowledge ends.

Since the foregoing was written, Mr. W. H. Jackson, whose report has been quoted, has intimated to me a project he has long had under serious contemplation, of returning to the ruins in South-western Colorado, and making a more thorough examination of them and of those in Chaco Cañon than it was possible to accomplish during the first visit. He proposed to enter upon, in this connection, a very

extensive system of excavations, and thereby endeavor to exhume some further and more interesting traces of the ancient history of this remarkable people, and, it may be added, he has strong hopes of finding numerous skeletons, implements and other remains that will enable our antiquarians to determine something more than is now known concerning them. Mr. Jackson is better qualified for such an undertaking than any other explorer of our time, and being convinced by the observations he made while attached to the United States Geological Survey in 1874-5 that wisely conducted exploitation will bring to light much new evidence relating to their antiquity, and possibly to their origin, we trust his purpose will be carried into effect. As yet we have only the surface indications, which give the outlines merely, leaving the deeper secrets to conjecture. All men who may be interested in the solution of the mystery will unite with us in hoping that his enterprise will be wholly successful. It is not improbable that the expedition will be undertaken during the current year—1889. With his permission, the discoveries he shall make, if important, will be summarized in one of the succeeding volumes of this history. It is one of the great enigmas sent down from the ages, and it may be that our highly respected fellow-citizen has been raised up for the disclosure, if not of as complete a record in this field of inquiry as M. De Charnay has given us from his late researches among the old temples of Yucatan, at least some fresh traces that will lead to a better conception of the subject.

CHAPTER V.

INDIAN CHARACTER, TRADITIONS, AND RELIGIOUS IMPRESSIONS—THE ANCIENT AZTECS AND MODERN PUEBLOS—WERE THE RUINS IN COLORADO OF AZTEC OR TOLTEC DEVELOPMENT?—LEGEND OF THE EXPULSION OF THE CLIFF DWELLERS FROM THE SAN JUAN MOUNTAINS, AND THEIR DISPERSION THROUGH NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA—REMOTE ANTIQUITY OF THESE RUINS—VAST POPULATION OF THE ANCIENT TOWNS—TRADITIONS OF THE MOQUIS AND ZUNIS—PRIMEVAL RESERVOIRS AND IRRIGATION—BEAUTY AND COMPREHENSIVENESS OF THE AZTEC LANGUAGE.

The oral traditions of the Indian, founded in fact, no doubt, but in transmission from generation to generation becoming strongly tinged with fiction, are all we have from that source to indicate his descent of the ages. We have the statement from one who dwelt many years among the roving tribes of the West, that wherever an Indian sentiment is expressed, there is a tendency to the pensive and the reminiscent. In old age his mind dwells longest and most fervently upon the past, the achievements of his fathers, the battles won and lost, the glories of their heroic deeds, and his own; the warriors slain, and captives taken; of hosts overcome in the field, and lastly, with deep sorrow and lamentation, over the rapid decay of his race. Therefore, when we attempt to discover the hidden secrets of their lives, and those of their ancestors, having first gained their confidence in our sincerity and worth, it is always their desire to tell, as ours to hear, whatever they may have retained from the past. Though often interwoven with poetic fiction, much truth is secured by these recitals, thousands of which have been gathered into books, which constitute the base of much of our knowledge of the primitive history of our continent. Some of their ideas and legends are found graphically portrayed in picture writing upon rocks, the walls of their dwellings, upon skins, and

the bark of trees. This is their literature, crudely, but oftentimes powerfully, communicated. To the unlettered in these forms of expression, their pictography is a dead language, with no apparent meaning, but interpreted it is the meaning of Homer to the Greeks, or of Virgil to the Latins. In the procession of the ages, there has been but little change in the habits, temperament, or ambition of the savage races. Born in the open air, where his whole life is passed, addicted to war and the chase, he has peopled earth and air, the wind, the forests and streams, the clouds and the firmament, with an imagery as fanciful, and often as beautiful, as any known to man. It is written that the Great Spirit of the Indian worship is a purer deity than the Greeks or Romans, with all their refinement, possessed. We have innumerable accounts of their beliefs respecting the future life, the power of good and evil spirits; legends of their dealings with men, and of their after pilgrimage beyond the stars, the works and wonders wrought for them by the Great Master of Life here on earth. Said a venerable chief of one of the plains tribes, when informed that a railroad to the Pacific was to be built through his hunting grounds, in forecasting its effect upon the herds of buffalo, which were his sole means of subsistence: "The Great Father, who made us and gave us these lands to live upon, made also the buffalo and other game to afford us the means of life; his meat is our food; with his skin we clothe ourselves, and build our houses; he is our only means of life—food, fuel, and raiment. I fear we shall soon be deprived of the buffalo; then starvation and cold will diminish our numbers, and we shall all be swept away. The buffalo is fast disappearing. As the white man advances, our game and our means of life grow less, and before many years they will all be gone."

How speedily this prophecy was to be literally fulfilled, not even this white haired patriarch could have foretold. In less than a quarter of a century since the Pacific Railway was projected, the buffalo, the deer, and the antelope, which once thronged the plains in countless numbers, have passed away, and are no longer seen except in zoolog-

ical gardens, as effigies in our museums, or, at best, the last expiring remnant, in the solitude of our mountain fastnesses.

A few additional reflections, with here and there such further testimony as can be obtained from records and traditions at our command, and we are done with this branch of the subject.

Were the remote ancestors of our pueblo Indians Aztec or Toltec? No writer on the subject has yet dared to make a positive selection. The Aztecs of Mexico insisted that they came from the North, or Northwest, and that they proceeded southward by regular stages of emigration, halting from time to time, and remaining for years, possibly through generations, in each place adapted to their tastes and requirements, and finally swept down in vast hordes upon the Toltecs in the Valley of Anahuac, driving them out, and taking possession of their country. In the course of this migration, one hundred and fifty years were passed. Castañeda favors the theory of a starting point in the far Northwest. It is assumed, indeed known with reasonable certainty, that the whole tribe or nation did not move together continuously. Undoubtedly, large numbers were left behind, from choice, and as probably built the cities and towns whose remains are found in Southwestern Colorado and in New Mexico. Immense tracts, covered with the ruins of their habitations and fragments of their pottery, are found at intervals all the way from the San Juan Mountains to Mexico, on the route assumed to have been pursued by the original host. Baron von Humboldt, by authority of the Catholic missionaries he met on his travels through the country, who were as familiar with the Aztec as with the Spanish language, employing it in their missionary work and in their sermons, affirms that it differs essentially from that spoken by these natives, and from this argues that they were not of the same race of people. Still this is by no means conclusive. Castañeda asserts that the Indians of New Mexico were entirely unknown to the people of Southern Mexico, and that the latter first learned of them through Cabeza de Vaca. Who shall number the centuries that lie between the migrations of the Aztecs and the discovery of the pueblos

by Cabeza and Coronado? The similitude in the methods of building, customs, dress, physique, and forms of worship, with here and there traces of identity of language, seem to indicate, if they do not prove, an Aztec origin.

When found by the Europeans, in the sixteenth century, the cliff and cave dwellers were living peacefully, and, no doubt, contentedly, in their well-protected abodes. Excepting occasional incursions by nomadic and warlike tribes, it is presumed, from what we know of their amiability and industry, that they lived upon the fruits of toil, until finally dispersed. The following legend, related to Captain Moss by one of the venerable Moqui chiefs, and subsequently published in an Eastern paper, indicates more clearly than any other the probable cause of their final abandonment of the caves and cliff houses:

“Formerly the aborigines inhabited all this country as far west as the head waters of the San Juan, as far north as the Dolores, west some distance into Utah, and south and southwest through Arizona, and down into Mexico. They had lived there from time immemorial—since the earth was a small island, which augmented as its inhabitants multiplied. They cultivated the valley, fashioned very neatly and handsomely whatever utensils and tools they needed, out of clay, and wood, and stone, not knowing any of the useful metals; built their homes, and kept their flocks and herds in the fertile river bottoms, and worshiped the sun. They were an eminently peaceful and prosperous people, living by agriculture, rather than by the chase. About a thousand years ago, however, they were visited by savage strangers from the North, whom they treated hospitably. Soon these visits became more frequent and annoying. Then their troublesome neighbors—ancestors of the present Utes—began to forage upon them, and at last to massacre them and devastate their farms; so, to save their lives, at least, they built houses high up on the cliffs, where they could store food and hide away till the bold raiders left. But one summer the invaders did not go back to their mountains, as the people expected, but brought their families with them, and settled down. So, driven from

their homes and lands, starving in their little niches on the high cliffs, they could only steal away, during the night, and wander across the cheerless uplands. To one who has traveled these steppes, such a flight seems terrible, and the mind hesitates to picture the sufferings of the sad fugitives.

"At the Christone they halted, and probably found friends, for the rocks and caves are full of the nests of these human wrens and swallows. Here they collected, erected stone fortifications and watch towers, dug reservoirs in the rocks, to hold a supply of water, which, at all times, is precarious in this latitude, and once more stood at bay. Their foes came, and for one long month fought, and were beaten back, but returned, day after day, to the attack, as merciless and inevitable as the tide. Meantime, the families of the defenders were evacuating and moving south, and bravely did their protectors shield them till they were all safely a hundred miles away. The besiegers were beaten back, and went away; but the narrative tells us that the hollows of the rocks were filled to the brim with the mingled blood of conquerors and conquered, and red rivers of it ran down into the cañon. It was such a victory as they could not afford to win again, and they were glad, when the long fight was over, to follow their wives and little ones to the south. There, in the deserts of Arizona, on well nigh unapproachable, isolated cliffs, they built new towns, and their few descendants—the Moquis—live in them to this day, preserving more carefully and purely the history and veneration of their forefathers than their skill or wisdom."

Contrary to the usual legend, this reads like a well considered chapter of history, and in many respects accords with the modern apprehension of the causes of their expulsion from the lofty slopes of the San Juan, the Mancos and the Dolores. It is exactly the kind of history which any careful observer of their remains would construct for these people after studying the ruins. It is clear that they were abandoned long anterior to the Spanish invasion of New Mexico.

The conquerors knew nothing of them until they were discovered by Fathers Escalante and Garcia in 1775-7.

When discovered by the Europeans in the sixteenth century, these brave and intelligent people were living at peace with all the world they knew, in their comfortable and well protected pueblos of adobe and stone. The Spaniards came, overran the country, burned many of their villages, slaughtered thousands, and in the course of time reduced them to abject servitude. Nor did their cruel work stop, even at that point of degradation; they were forced to abandon their ancient religions and accept Christianity at the point of the sword, according to the Spanish plan of salvation. Though they rebelled again and again, the iron hand struck them down as repeatedly, until they became so reduced in numbers as to render them powerless for further resistance. Hence the arts and refinements they once possessed, and in which they surpassed many of the European races in prehistoric times, have been lost in their rapid degeneration. We have seen how their ancestors dressed in cotton and other fabrics of their own weaving, how well and industriously they built. These broken descendants manufacture little enough now, build nothing at all, and seem content to be let alone, to pursue their uneventful lives according to the slender means still left to them.

Davis relates some of the curious superstitions of the Pueblos, among them the following from the Pecos Indians. It is said that in the estufa the sacred fire was kept constantly burning, having been originally kindled by Montezuma. It was in a basin of a small altar, and in order to prevent its becoming extinguished, a watch was kept over it day and night. The tradition runs that Montezuma enjoined upon their ancestors not to allow it to expire until he should return to deliver them from the Spaniards, and hence their devotion to it. He was expected to appear with the rising sun, and every morning the Indians went upon the housetops, and with eyes turned toward the east, looked for the coming of their monarch. Alas! for them, he never came, and alas! too, for the lovers of these picturesque tradi-

tions, it is probable that they never knew of Montezuma, except through their conquerors.

That some idea of the numbers which occupied the pueblos before their decimation by wars and pestilences may be obtained, we give the estimates afforded by the chronicler of Espejo's expedition in 1582. In one of the provinces visited there was a town, or cluster of towns, estimated to contain 40,000 souls, possessing great herds of cattle, and raising large crops of cotton and vegetables; in another 14,000 were found, with markets and plazas, where the people congregated for trading purposes. Many of the dwellings were plastered, and painted in various colors, and the better class wore beautiful and curious mantles of their own weaving. In another there were 30,000, and at a distance of twenty-eight leagues from Cibola (Zuni), direction not stated, was a province containing 50,000. The last visited had 40,000. When the smoldering embers had expired, they gave up all hope of deliverance, and sought homes elsewhere. The task of watching the sacred fires was assigned to the warriors, who served by turns for a period of two days and two nights at a time, without eating or drinking, while some say they remained on duty until death or exhaustion relieved them from their post. The remains of those who died from the effect of watching are said to have been carried to the den of a great serpent, which appears to have lived upon these delicacies alone.

Gregg* says: "This huge snake—invented no doubt by the lovers of the marvelous to account for the constant disappearance of the Indians—was represented as the idol which they worshiped, and as subsisting entirely upon the flesh of his devotees. The story of this wonderful serpent was so firmly believed in by many ignorant people that on one occasion I heard an honest *ranchero* assert that upon entering a village very early upon a winter's morning he saw the huge trail of the reptile in the snow, as large as that of a dragging ox."

*Commerce of the Prairies.



Amos C. Burdick

Gregg gives it as his opinion that the Navajoes are a remnant of the Aztec race, which remained in the north when that people migrated toward Anahuac, and mentions the superiority of their skill in the manufacture of blankets, cotton goods, embroidery in feathers, and so forth. The alliance is further suggested by the wonderful skill of both ancient and modern Mexicans in feather work. Humboldt fixes the country of the Navajoes as the region inhabited by the Aztecs of the twelfth century.

Among the recent works relating to the pueblo Indians, is one published in 1884 by John G. Bourke, U. S. A.,* who visited that country in 1881. Having seen in their estufas many seashells, and having inquired where they were found, the following legend was related to him by one of the old men of the tribe :

"Many years ago, the Moquis lived upon the other side of a high mountain (range) beyond the San Juan River, in the southwestern corner of Colorado. The chief of those who lived there thought he would take a trip down the big river, to see where it went to. He made a boat from a hollow cottonwood log, took some provisions, and started down. The stream carried him to the seashore, where he found the shells. When he arrived on the beach, he saw on the top of a cliff a number of houses, in which lived many men and women. They had white under their eyes, and below that a white mark. That night he took unto himself one of the women as his wife. Shortly after his return to his home, the woman gave birth to snakes, and this was the origin of the Snake family (gens or clans), which manages this dance. When she gave birth to these snakes, they bit a number of the children of the Moquis. The Moquis then moved in a body (down from the San Juan) to their present villages, and they have this dance to conciliate the snakes, so they wont bite their children."

Says Bourke: "My own suspicion is that one of the minor objects of the Snake Dance has been the perpetuation in dramatic form of the legend of the origin and growth of the Moqui family.

* Snake Dances of the Moquis of Arizona.

For example, salt water, sand and seashells seen in the estufas may have symbolized their emergence from the ocean—their landing upon the western coast, with their huddling together, and smoking in company with the crawling reptiles, in all probability conserved the tradition of a prehistoric life in caves which snakes infested.”

We learn from Sylvester Baxter* that the Zunis believe their gods brought them to a dry and sterile country for a home, but that their forefathers taught them the prayers and songs whereby that land might be blessed with rain. They therefore addressed their prayers to spirits dwelling in the ocean, the home of all water, as the source from which their blessings came. They believe their prayers brought the clouds from the ocean, guided by the spirits of their ancestors, and the clouds gave them rain. The Zunis have had a knowledge of the oceans from time immemorial, and besides the Atlantic and the “Ocean of Hot Water” (Gulf of Mexico), they speak of the “Ocean of Sunset” and the “Ocean of the Place of Everlasting Snow,” and they include all four under the name of the “Waters embracing the World.” When asked how it was that they knew all about the ocean, one of them replied: “Farther back than a long time ago our fathers told their children about the ‘Ocean of the Sunrise.’ We ourselves did not know it. We had not seen it. We knew it in the prayers they had taught us, and by the things they had handed down to us, and which came from its waters.”

At the council when Nai-in-tchi was told that he had been chosen to go to Washington with Cushing, he repeated the ancient Zuni tradition of the people that had gone to the eastward in the days when all mankind was one, and said that now our “Lost Others,” as they were called, might be coming back to meet them in the shape of Americans. They talked incessantly of the Americans, repeated all the traditions within their recollection, and among them this: “A strange and unknown people are the Americans, and in a far-off and unknown land they live. Thus said our ‘Old Ones’—ancestors.”

*“Century Magazine,” August, 1882.

Bourke says one of the Moqui Indians told him that human sacrifice was the custom of his ancestors, and that if the tribes to the south in Mexico (the Aztecs) "did that, they were one people with us. We have one religion, and human sacrifice was the practice of our forefathers."

At Zuni also, a venerable chief who talked Spanish quite fluently, said to him: "In the days of long ago all the Pueblos, Moquis, Zunis, Acoma, Laguna, Jemez, and others, had the religion of human sacrifice at the time of the feast of fire. The victim had his throat cut, and his breast opened, and his heart taken out by one of the Cochinas (priests). That was their method of asking good fortune. The Mexicans (Spaniards) came, and they had another method; they went to church and prayed to God. They would not allow the Pueblos to keep up the good old custom."

These traditions have been cited to illustrate the drift of the Indian mind in regard to his ancestry. If they were handed down from a remote period, of which there is at least a certain probability, they also indicate a connection between these people and the Aztecs.

The distinguished historian, Hubert Howe Bancroft, who has given in his "Native Races" much valuable information concerning the Aztec language, says: "It was the court language of American civilization, the Latin of mediæval, and the French of modern times; it was used as the means of holding intercourse with non-Aztec speaking peoples, also by all ambassadors, and in all official communications.

* * * It is also possible that it may at one time have been used even east of the Mississippi, as will appear from the statements of Acosta and Sahagun. The latter says that the Apalaches, living east of the Mississippi, extended their expeditions far into Mexico, and were proud to show to the first conquerors of their country the great highways in which they traveled. Acosta affirms that the Mexicans called these Apalaches Natuices, or mountaineers. * * Of all the languages spoken on the American continent, the Aztec is the most perfect and finished, approaching in this respect the tongues of

Europe and Asia, and actually surpassing many of them by its elegance of expression." Mendieta says that "it is not excelled in beauty by the Latin, displaying even more art in its construction and abounding in tropes and metaphors." Clavigero says it is copious, polite and expressive.

In bringing this prolific subject to a close, the reader is invited to take into just consideration the fact that even a rapid digest would extend it beyond the limit of this volume. He will therefore readily pardon the brevity of its treatment here. It is not our purpose to burden these pages with more than is essential to a correct apprehension of the origin, so far as any one has been enlightened, of the people who ages ago inhabited a small portion of Colorado. This object has been as fully met in the foregoing chapters as it is possible for any history thus far published to attain.

CHAPTER VI.

1582 TO 1806. REVIVAL OF EXPLORATIONS FROM MEXICO—THE EXPEDITION OF DON JUAN DE ONATE—COLONIZATION OF NEW MEXICO—DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN THE SAN LUIS VALLEY—MARCHES OF ONATE AND PENALOSA TO THE MISSOURI RIVER—FRENCH EXPEDITIONS FROM NEW ORLEANS—THE PILGRIMAGE OF FATHERS ESCALANTE AND GARCIA TO THE SAN JUAN MOUNTAINS, AND THROUGH VARIOUS PARTS OF COLORADO—THE EXPLORATIONS OF LIEUT. ZEBULON M. PIKE AND HIS CAPTURE BY THE SPANIARDS—THE FIRST DISCOVERER OF GOLD ON THE UPPER ARKANSAS—ORIGINAL AMERICAN VISITORS TO THIS REGION.

December 10, 1582, an expedition commanded by Don Antonio de Espejo, marched up from Mexico to the Rio Grande in the vicinity of Albuquerque. After a cursory examination of the country, he returned by way of the Pecos Valley, passing down into Northwestern Texas. He was followed in 1591 by Don Juan de Onate, a wealthy and vigorous cavalier of Zacatecas, with the especial purpose of establishing colonies at various points, and thus confirming the Spanish title to the country. He came also in search of the precious metals, and, more fortunate than his predecessors, found many valuable mines. The first colony was located on the north side of the Chama in a beautiful valley just above its junction with the Rio Grande. The settlement remains to the present day, and while not large, is thrifty, and, to all appearances, prosperous. In the course of his numerous explorations, Onate penetrated the San Luis Park, between the Culebra and Trinchera above Fort Garland, and, it is said, located and partly opened mines containing gold and silver. Returning to the colony on the Chama, he projected a still more extensive journey which carried him between the Arkansas and Platte Rivers, and it is believed, very nearly if not quite to the Missouri.

On the 6th of March, 1662, Don Diego de Peñalosa, with a con-

siderable force, left Mexico for Santa Fe, and from there passed down into Kansas to its eastern borders.

In 1724 M. De Bourgmont, then in command of the French forces stationed at Fort Orleans, on the Missouri River, not far from the present site of Kansas City,—more precisely near Camden, or the mouth of Grand River—was directed to make an “exploratory voyage” westward, for a twofold object. First, to bring the Osage, Kaw or Kansas Indians, the Otoes and the Padoucas or Pawnees into council, and to conclude with them a durable treaty. Second, by this means to assure a permanent peace between these constantly warring tribes, and thereby promote the fur trade, which was too frequently interrupted by tribal conflicts. Next, the government of Louisiana hoped to attach all these Indians to the interests of France, by inducing them to abandon their traffic with the Spaniards of New Mexico, for which concession the French agreed to aid and protect them against their enemies. In July, De Bourgmont proceeded westward a distance of something over one hundred and fifty miles. He was taken ill and returned to Fort Orleans, but left a part of his command and all his goods with the Kansas Indians. Returning in September, this officer advanced further west on the same parallel to a point not far from Fort Ellsworth, in Western Kansas. Here he concluded a treaty with the Kansas and Pawnees, and an agreement that peace should be preserved between them. He discovered in this expedition that the Kansas River and its tributaries extended westward some four hundred to five hundred miles; that the Padoucas had villages on the Platte, the head of the Smoky Hill and near the sources of the Republican Fork in our present state of Colorado; that the Spaniards traded with the Padoucas; that the latter obtained from them cattle and horses; also that the Spaniards mined great quantities of silver, and the Indians explained to him their methods of producing it. It will be remembered that after the final subjugation of the natives, years after Coronado’s invasion, these people were enslaved and put to work in the mines.

This is the first authentic account we have of the Kansas and

Colorado prairies since the sixteenth century, when Louis Moscoso and Coronado explored them as recorded in a previous chapter. There is evidence, however, that both before and after De Bourgmont's expeditions, Spanish exploring parties had in the eighteenth century, penetrated northward from Santa Fe to the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. This was established by the capture, about 1720, of a Spanish map which gave as then drawn, an altogether misleading idea of the Missouri, and its headwaters as conceived by Spaniards from New Mexico.

In 1740-50 the Spaniards, who had for one hundred and sixty years frequented the Valley of the Arkansas, the South and North Platte Rivers and the heads of the Kansas, had at times attempted to secure a foothold in that region, but never succeeded in establishing themselves permanently at any point northeast of the Raton and Sangre de Cristo ranges. Still the remains of old acequias, house foundations, etc., that for thirty or forty miles below the present city of Pueblo may be seen along the Arkansas River, indicate a very restricted occupation. Although Spanish grants had been made extending for miles below the Huerfano, permanent settlements never could have been maintained there, exposed, as they must have been, to frequent attacks from the war-like Apaches and other nomadic tribes who made this region their hunting grounds. Nevertheless, in the years mentioned above, the Spaniards kept a picket post on the Huerfano where the trail led to the Sangre de Cristo Pass. When Lieut. Pike led his expedition up the Arkansas in 1806-7, he passed the spot where Pueblo now stands, but neither houses nor settlers were there at that period. Indeed, the entire valley was deserted even by the Indians, except now and then a war or hunting party. Pike discovered, however, that Spanish goods and wares were not uncommon among the prairie Indians, and that a troop of Spanish cavalry had not long before penetrated to the headwaters of the Kansas and Republican Rivers. But at that time no route existed known to any one, which led to the settlements of New Mexico from the Missouri. The Santa Fe trail was not opened nor traveled until

after 1820. Yet, in 1824-26 Spanish troops had escorted trains to the Arkansas en route for trade at St. Louis or Independence, Mo.

In 1775 two Spanish padres, Escalante and Garcia, began a lonely pilgrimage northward. From Valencia, south of Albuquerque they passed northwest to Pajorito; thence inclined a little south of west across the Puerco, reaching the pueblo of Laguna, situated on a small stream then called Rio de Belen; thence southwest to Acoma, one of the ancient rock fortresses of the pueblo Indians. From Acoma they passed to Coquina, a few miles south of the Ojo de Zuni, probably the place now known as Deer Springs. The itinerary of the fathers does not claim to be exact as to the cardinal points. Here, inclining some 15° to the north, they crossed what is denominated by them the Sierra de las Casninos, a dividing plateau between Zuni and the head of the Colorado Chiquito, and reached a spring which they located, and is the same as is now designated "Navajo Spring," or perhaps "Jacob's Well;" continuing on the same course, crossing the Puerco of the west, they arrived at Hualpi, one of the seven Moqui towns, thence to another pueblo, marked on their map as Mosconobi, where a trail is indicated as leading direct to San Bernardino in California, a road known and traveled from Santa Fe via Cebolleta on the Rio Belen above Laguna; thence to the Great Colorado at San Pedro, and thence to San Bernardino. Without following the sinuosities of their desultory course, it is found that they eventually passed by Sevier River and the Vegas de Santa Clara to near Lake Utah, and thence northward.

From the trading post on Great Salt Lake the padres returned southward along their trail to near Lake Utah; thence by the head of Provo and Weber Rivers, across the Wahsatch Range, striking Green River about thirty miles south of White or Uintah River, keeping a southwest course after leaving Green River. They crossed the Grand and the San Miguel or Dolores Rivers, and reached the head branches of the San Juan, called by them Rios San Coyetano and De Velasquez, to a place on the Rio de Velasquez, called Santa Maria de los Nieves (Saint Mary of the Snows). This point was at the base of the

San Juan Mountains, shown on their map and designated as Sierra de las Gruellas or Crane Mountains. Here they turned to a northeast course over the San Juan Mountains, reaching the Valley of the Del Norte at San Pedro, a point which cannot be intelligently located.

Here they turned about to a course of south by 25° east, indicating Hot Springs at the head of a river called Otter or Nutrias River. Undoubtedly Father Escalante attempted to locate in his itinerary the Pagosa hot springs, but he makes the stream from the springs flow into and form a part of the Rio de Chama, an affluent of the Del Norte, while the Rio Nutria to-day heads in the mountains ten miles northwest of Pagosa, and Pagosa is on the San Juan River, of which Nutria is an affluent. Another hypothesis might locate the Hot Springs on the Rio Navajo, from which it is a comparatively short distance to the Rio de Chama, but the Hot Springs of the padres' route are too far north to give it much probability. Having arrived at a point about twenty miles north of the parallel of 37° north latitude, a place they christened San Pablo Piedra Lumbra, they altered their itinerary to an east-southeast course, reaching the Chama at Santa Clara, thence down that stream to a point called Gomez; thence to San Ildefonso on the Del Norte, and finally to Santa Fe.

In the light that to-day is thrown over the whole region, explored one hundred and ten years ago by these indefatigable priests, we must accord them the merit of great endurance and fearless courage. But this has been from time immemorial a characteristic of the church and its missionaries. To perpetuate his fame, a great range of mountains has been christened for Father Escalante, who with his companion was doubtless the first European to set foot upon them, and they were probably the first white discoverers also of the Great Salt Lake.

Notwithstanding the considerable numbers of Spaniards—priests, laymen and soldiers—who explored the country to the north of New Mexico, and as far east as the Arkansas and the Platte, they planted no missions, established no churches, and left no traces whatever of their visitations in any portion of the country. There are no vestiges

of early Catholic establishments from the Rio Grande to the Missouri, neither in the Rocky Mountains nor upon the plains east or south.

In the diary kept by Escalante, several places are noted where ancient ruins were observed, among them on the banks of the Dolores River, situated on a height, and built upon the same plan as those in New Mexico, "as shown by the ruins which we examined." At another point (the Rio de San Cosme) "we saw near by a ruin of a very ancient town, in which were fragments of metals and pottery. The form of the town was circular, as shown by the ruins now almost leveled to the ground." Again, in the cañon of another stream, "Toward the south there is quite a high cliff on which we saw rudely painted three shields and a spear head. Lower down on the north side, we saw another painting which represented in a confused manner two men fighting, for which reason we named it the Cañon Pintado."

But the expeditions of greatest importance to the people of the United States, measured by the events which followed the publication of their reports, were conducted, the first by Captains Lewis and Clarke, and Lieutenant—subsequently Major—Zebulon M. Pike, by order of Thomas Jefferson, very soon after the Louisiana purchase, for the dual purpose of exploring the then unknown wilds of our western country, and, as Pike quaintly expresses it, "of obtaining information founded on scientific pursuits, and with a view of entering into a chain of philanthropic arrangements for ameliorating the condition of the Indians who inhabit those vast plains and deserts." But the actual purpose may be summarized in the fact that, having secured an immense territory, only a small portion of which had been settled, and but a fraction traversed, the government was seized by a strong desire to ascertain what the trackless wilderness of forests, plains and mountains contained in the way of natural resources which might at the proper time be developed for the benefit of the incipient Republic.

Therefore, Captain Merriweather Lewis, in conjunction with Captain C. Clarke, was directed to proceed to the sources of the Missouri, and Lieut. Pike to the Mississippi and the headwaters of the Platte.

As we are more especially interested in the latter expedition, that only will be considered, leaving the reader to consult the reports of Lewis and Clarke, which may be found in any well-selected library. Pike's journal being out of print, is rarely obtainable. The work as published, is simply a quaint, and at times grotesque, diary in which the principal occurrences of each day are briefly narrated.

After exploring the Mississippi for some distance, he was recalled and directed to examine the country between the Missouri and the Rocky Mountains; to discover the sources of the Arkansas, Platte and Red Rivers, take note of everything worthy of record, and "to acquire such geographical knowledge of the southwestern boundary of Louisiana, as to enable the government to enter into a definite arrangement for a line of demarkation between that territory and North Mexico." He was further instructed to pay especial attention to the various Indian tribes met with on the way, and to report everything of importance concerning them. To insure greater accuracy of surveys, he was provided with a complete outfit of astronomical and mathematical instruments.

On the 11th of July, 1806, the expedition, comprising two lieutenants, one surgeon, one sergeant, two corporals, sixteen privates, and an interpreter well versed in the Indian languages, embarked from Bellefontaine, Mo., and was accompanied by several Osage and Pawnee chiefs who had been to Washington for a conference, and were then returning to their homes. Omitting the details of the voyage up the Osage River, which they ascended in boats to the head of navigation, we find that they crossed thence overland to the Kansas River, and finally to the Arkansas, marching along the course of that stream. On the 23d of November they arrived at the Third Fork, now known as the St. Charles or San Carlos. Here, on the 24th, a breastwork of logs was thrown up, and a detachment left to defend it, while with the remainder Pike advanced to the Second, or "Grand Fork," and encamped near the present site of Pueblo. If any fixed settlers or habitations existed there at that early period, no mention is made of them, and

it is unlikely that features of so much importance would have escaped observation. They next pursued the left or south side of the Fontaine qui Bouille northward, keeping near the mountains, and in due time found themselves at the base of Cheyenne (Shian) Mountain, in front of the "High Peak." On the 27th, says the journal, "We commenced ascending, and found it very difficult, being obliged to climb up rocks, sometimes almost perpendicular; and after marching all day, we encamped in a cave without blankets, victuals, or water. *

* * Some distance up we found buffalo; higher still the new species of deer," (probably mountain sheep) "and pheasants," (grouse). Next morning, after a wretched night in the cave on the steep mountain-side, they arose "hungry, dry, and extremely sore from the inequality of the rocks on which we had been all night, but were amply compensated for our toil by the sublimity of the prospect below. The unbounded prairie was overhung with clouds which appeared like the ocean in a storm; wave piled on wave and foaming, whilst the sky was perfectly clear where we were." Continuing the ascent, after an hour of climbing, they reached the summit, where they found the snow waist-deep, and the mercury at 4° below zero. Pike in scaling this mountain anticipated that it would lead him to the apex of that stupendous elevation which now bears his name, and was both astonished and chagrined to find it apparently as he says, "Fifteen or sixteen miles away, and as high again as what we had ascended, and would have taken a whole day's march to have arrived at its base, when, I believe, no human being could have ascended to its pinnacle. This, with the condition of my soldiers, who had only light overalls on, and no stockings," to say nothing of the principal objection that they were half-frozen, had nothing to eat and no prospect of killing any game, decided him not to undertake it. Arrived at the foot of Cheyenne Peak, a heavy snowstorm set in, and "we sought shelter under the side of a projecting rock where we all four made a meal on one partridge and a piece of deer's ribs, the first we had eaten in that forty-eight hours." None but the early pioneer gold hunters of our time can fully appreciate the

terrible hardships of these brave men, floundering about in snow two or three feet deep, thinly clad, without stockings, shod with coarse army shoes, and without food for two days and nights, all in the pursuit of knowledge for "philanthropic uses," and without hope of further reward. With all his labor Pike never reached the summit, or even the base of "High Peak," nor lived to enjoy the honor of its christening, which fell to Dr. James, who, with two others attached to Major Long's party, made the ascent to the highest point. It was known for many years as "James' Peak." Neither of them could have imagined or dreamed of the picturesque beauty since added to the scenes of their exploits by their countrymen of a later generation, though Fitzhugh Ludlow, who came sixty years after Pike, when that section of country, though thinly populated, was practically unchanged, foresaw as in a prophetic vision the future of Manitou and the magnificent cañon of the Fountaine, and photographed them from this impression in his "Heart of the Continent," published in 1868.

November 28, weary, half-frozen, destitute and disappointed, the party retreated to their starting point on the Arkansas. While crossing the hills they shot a buffalo and made the first hearty meal they had enjoyed in three days. Pike says,—“The land here is very rich, and covered with old Teton (Comanche) camps.” While at the base of Cheyenne Mountain he measured by triangulation the altitude of “Grand Peak,” with the following result: “The perpendicular height of the mountain from the level of the prairie, was 10,581 feet, and admitting that the prairie was 8,000 feet from the level of the sea, it would make the elevation of this peak 18,581 feet. * * * Indeed, it was so remarkable as to be known by all the savage nations for hundreds of miles around, and to be spoken of with admiration by the Spaniards of New Mexico, and was the bounds of their travels northwest. Indeed, in our wanderings in the mountains it was never out of our sight, except when in a valley, from the 14th of November to the 27th of January.”

Resting a short time at the mouth of the Fountaine, they next marched up the Arkansas. On the 1st of December a violent snow-

storm occurred, causing men and beasts intense suffering. "Our horses were obliged to scrape the snow away to obtain their miserable pittance, and to increase their misfortunes, the poor animals were attacked by magpies, who, attracted by the scent of their sore backs, alighted on them, and in defiance of their wincing and kicking, pecked many places quite raw. The difficulty of procuring food rendered these birds so bold as to light on our men's arms and eat out of their hands." Later on, buffalo, deer and wild turkeys were killed.

An encampment was made near the spot now occupied by Cañon City. From this point Pike took a small detachment, and, as near as can be ascertained from his diary, passed into the mountains via Currant Creek, and thence to the South Park, which was explored to the sources of the Platte. They also visited the Salt Marsh (now Hall's Ranch), and appear to have crossed the divide on or near the present line of the South Park Railway, descending Trout Creek to the valley of the Arkansas, mistaking it for the Red River, which they were strongly instructed to explore. With this erroneous understanding, they ascended the stream nearly to its source; then, as if its identity had been unmistakably established, turned about and followed its course down through the magnificent cañon, only to find themselves on reaching its debouchure, after a month of immeasurable suffering, back at the starting point, and the Red River of their quest still as much of an unknown quantity in their calculations as before. Pike did not learn until long afterward that he had passed the sources of this stream while en route to the Arkansas.

But the indomitable Lieutenant, bent upon making the discovery at all hazards, as soon as the weather permitted, struck south through the Wet Mountain Valley, and across the Sangre de Cristo Range to the Rio Del Norte, which he was now entirely convinced was the Red River. The point from which it was first discovered must have been, from the description, near the present site of Fort Garland. He descended the Rio Grande some eighteen miles to the Conejos River. On the north bank of this river, five miles above its confluence with

the Rio Grande, he erected a strong stockade as a rallying point and base for future operations, and with the further intention of tracing the river to its sources in the mountains. Struck with the loveliness of the San Luis Park, as every visitor to that picturesque valley must be, he gives rein to his descriptive powers thus: "From a high hill south of our camp we had a view of all the prairie and rivers to the north of us. It was, at the same time, one of the most sublime and beautiful inland prospects ever presented to the eyes of man. The prairie, lying nearly north and south, was probably sixty miles by forty-five. The main river, bursting out of the western mountain, and meeting from the northeast a large branch which divides the chain of mountains, proceeds down the prairie, making many large and beautiful islands, one of which I judge contains 10,000 acres of land, all meadow ground, covered with innumerable herds of deer. In short, this view combined the sublime and the beautiful. The great and lofty mountains, covered with eternal snows, seemed to surround the luxuriant vale, crowned with perennial flowers, like a terrestrial paradise shut out from the view of man."

But his occupation of the fort was of brief duration. Shortly after its completion a troop of Mexican cavalry appeared upon the scene, and to his astonishment, informed him that he had invaded Spanish territory; that he was not upon the Red River, but upon the Rio Grande, and that Governor Allencaster, the executive head of New Mexico, desired to see him. Notwithstanding his explanations and protests, they politely but firmly compelled him to accompany them to Santa Fé. He was taken to headquarters, then, as now, "the Palace," searchingly examined respecting his invasion of the country of a friendly power, and subsequently transferred to Chihuahua, whence, some months afterward, he made his way back to the United States, through Texas.

While in the South Park, and near the headwaters of the Arkansas, he reports having discovered the remains of immense Indian encampments. "The sign made by their horses was astonishing, and

would have taken a thousand horses some months to have produced the marks left by them." In some of these camps were great quantities of corn cobs, which he concluded might have been from maize of their own cultivation, but more probably obtained from the Mexicans by purchase or theft. At another place they discovered a camp which had been occupied by three thousand Indians at least, "with a large cross in the middle," from which he decides that this particular brand of savage was of the Roman Catholic persuasion. All these observations have some bearing, more or less important, upon facts which will be elaborated hereafter, namely, that the South Park and upper Arkansas Valley were for centuries perhaps, certainly for long periods, the favorite resorts and undoubtedly places of refuge of the Shoshone, Snake, Arapahoe, Ute and other nomadic tribes.

In the appendix to his diary, written after his return from Mexico, Pike pays some attention to the physical conditions of the country lying between the Missouri and the Sierras. The following extract is interesting in view of the present stage of its development. He writes: "In this western traverse of Louisiana the following general observations may be made, viz.: That from the Missouri to the head of the Osage River, a distance in a straight line of probably three hundred miles, the country will admit of a numerous, extensive and compact population. From thence on, the rivers Kanzes, La Platte, Arkansaw and their various branches, it appears to me to be only possible to introduce a limited population on their banks." He therefore advises such people to give their undivided attention to raising cattle, horses, sheep and goats, "all of which they can raise in abundance." He anticipates, however, that the lack of timber, which renders the country unfit for habitation, may one day be filled by the discovery of coal. Here is another conclusion: "But from these immense prairies may arise one great advantage to the United States, viz., the restriction of our population to some certain limits, and thereby a continuation of the Union; our citizens being so prone to rambling and extending themselves on the frontiers, will through necessity be constrained to limit their extent in the West to



James M. Daily

the borders of the Missouri and Mississippi, while they leave the prairies, *incapable of cultivation*, to the wandering and uncivilized aborigines of the country.”*

But Kansas had not then bled, Ireland suffered for home rule, nor Germany poured out her millions upon our shores. The enormous volume of population which eventually swept straight westward, rarely or never southward,—for the cause of a mighty rebellion and awful sacrifice lay slumbering there,—and distributed itself over all these vast prairies, however sterile, which Pike traversed, causing them in process of time to blossom as the rose, had not then commenced its migration. How could he bridge the next half century, and behold the vision of marvelous consequences of which his little book was the beginning?

The original discovery of gold in the Rocky Mountains, if the record before us is trustworthy, was made by one James Pursley, whom Pike met in Santa Fé, and who came to the western prairies from Bairdstown, Kentucky, in 1802. Leaving St. Louis with two companions, he hunted and trapped for a time, experiencing some violent encounters with the Indians, and passing through a long series of strange adventures. In the course of time Pursley, according to his own account, reached the headwaters of the Platte. “He assured me,” says Pike, “that he had found gold on the head of La Platte, and had carried some of the virgin mineral in his shot pouch for months, but that, being in doubt whether he should ever again behold the civilized world, and losing in his mind all the ideal value which mankind has stamped upon that metal, he threw it away,”—which may be taken *cum grano salis*. The Spaniards frequently importuned him to conduct them to the place where the gold was found, but he steadily refused.

While Pike assumes, and so states, that Pursley was the first American to cross the plains into Spanish territory, in another portion

*Following are some of the tribes then in possession of the country: Tetons (Comanches), Potawattamies, Arkansaws, Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, Padoucas, Caddoes, Osages, Pawnees, Reynards, Sacs, Delawares, Shawnees, Kickapoos, Otoes, Missouriis, Mahaws (Omahas), Kans (Kansas).

of his diary he relates that, in consequence of information obtained by the trappers, through the Indians, relative to this isolated region, a merchant of Kaskaskia, named Morrison, had already dispatched, as early as 1804, a French Creole named La Lande up the Platte River, with directions to push his way into Santa Fé, if the passage was at all practicable. It appears that this Creole succeeded in reaching Santa Fé, but neither returned nor rendered any account of his trip to his employer.

In concluding our account of Lieutenant Pike's expedition, which, owing to the lateness of the season when he reached the mountains, was filled with suffering and disasters, it is proper to state that he was killed in December, 1813, at Little York, Canada, by an explosion during a battle in which he was engaged, and that it was not until some few years prior to the discovery of gold in Cherry Creek, in 1859, that the prodigious promontory took his name, and became the rallying point of thousands of gold hunters from that date until long after the organization of the Territory of Colorado, in 1861.

CHAPTER VII.

1812 TO 1840—ROBERT STEWART'S JOURNEY FROM CALIFORNIA—MAJOR LONG'S EXPLORATIONS—ASCENT OF PIKE'S PEAK—ORIGIN OF THE COMMERCE OF THE PRAIRIES—THE OLD SANTA FE TRAIL—THE GREAT TEXAS-SANTA FE EXPEDITION CAPTURED BY DIMASIO SALEZAR—AMERICAN FUR COMPANIES AND NOTED PIONEERS—GENERAL ASHLEY—CAPT. BONNEVILLE—DECLINE OF THE FUR TRADE AND ITS CAUSES—THE PRIMITIVE HUNTERS AND TRAPPERS, THEIR HABITS AND CHARACTER.

Toward the latter part of June, 1812, one Robert Stewart, connected with the Pacific Fur Company, started from San Francisco overland for New York, accompanied by Crooks and McLellan, two famous frontiersmen, as guides. They had accomplished about seven hundred miles of their long and tedious journey—how long, tiresome and monotonous only those who passed over the old military trail years prior to stage coaches or railways can comprehend—when they met a man named Joseph Miller en route to the mouth of the Columbia River. In relating his adventures, he stated that he had fallen in with two tribes called Black-Arms and Arapahoes, who generally occupied the sources of the Arkansas; that they had stolen everything he possessed, and at the time of this meeting he was naked and well nigh starved. Soon afterward Stewart and his party were met by a band of Crow Indians who, after treating them with marked insolence, took all their horses and decamped. On foot Stewart and his Frenchmen continued their journey toward the Rocky Mountains, and finally reached the head waters of the North Fork of the Platte, which they descended to its confluence with the main stream, and thence to the Missouri.

The next great expedition to follow that of Lieut. Pike was inaugurated in the year 1819 by order of John C. Calhoun, Secretary of

War,—to whom the published result is dedicated,—who directed Major Stephen S. Long, of the Topographical Engineers, to explore the Missouri and its principal branches, and thence in succession the still mysterious Red River, the Arkansas, and Mississippi above the mouth of the Missouri.

Major Long left Pittsburg, Pa., early in April, 1819, and after having partially executed the first paragraph of his instructions, returned and went into winter quarters at a point twenty-five miles north of the mouth of the Platte, on the west bank of that river, which was first called Council Bluff, and later Fort Calhoun. It was about fifteen miles north from the present city of Council Bluffs. At the period under consideration it took the name of "Engineer Cantonment." Here the time until the following spring was occupied in acquiring general information of the neighboring country, the languages, religious rites, manners, customs and traditions of the numerous tribes of Indians. During their stay they were visited by the somewhat celebrated frontier soldier, Major O'Fallon, who had been for sometime engaged in alternately chastising and treating with the turbulent savages. Having felt the edge of his sword in many a contest, they were inspired with great respect and reverence for this powerful chieftain.

The name and exploits of this gallant officer have been perpetuated to this day in St. Louis and along the old frontier. "O'Fallon's Bluffs," on the Platte River route to Oregon, California and the Rocky Mountains was a prominent landmark with all travelers by that thoroughfare.

The Missouri, Arkansas, American and other fur companies established their base of supplies in the region mentioned above, whence their trappers and hunters ranged through Indian Territory and Northern Texas on the south, and to the Rocky Mountains on the west. This, it can well be conceived, was not only an immense but an exceedingly rich field for their traffic, and some of the colossal fortunes enjoyed by the first families of the Mound City had their origin there,

Captain Riley, for whom a prominent military post in Kansas was named years afterward, commanded a company in Major O'Fallon's small but vigorous army. Their mission among the Indians was to quiet the internecine disturbances which interfered seriously with all trading operations.

Major Long's instructions were to proceed to the eastern base of the mountains and follow along the same to the Arkansas River, and then return. He marched from Engineer Cantonment on the 6th of June, 1820, accompanied by geologists, topographers, botanists, naturalists, physicians, surgeons, landscape painters and interpreters, with a journalist to "write up" the interesting details, the whole guarded and protected by one corporal and six privates. To this formidable array were subsequently added two French Canadians from one of the Pawnee villages. The Indians about the mouth of the Platte affected amazement at the temerity of this party in attempting so great a journey, and predicted its failure, as the country swarmed with hostile bands, and besides, was for long distances wholly destitute of water and grass.

They proceeded up the Platte Valley, meeting with no serious difficulties en route. On the 30th of June the early morning splendor of the magnificent Cordilleras burst upon their vision, and toward evening they descried far to the southward the lofty crest of the peak discovered by Lieut. Pike fourteen years before. "On the 3d of July," says Long, "we passed the mouths of three large creeks heading in the mountains, and entering the Platte from the northwest. One of these, nearly opposite to which we encamped, is called Pateros Creek (probably the Cache la Poudre), from a Frenchman of that name who is said to have been bewildered upon it, wandering about for twenty days, almost without food. He was found by a band of Kiowas who frequent this part of the country, and restored to his companions, a party of hunters at that time camping on the Arkansas."

On the 5th of July they camped near the site of old Fort Lupton. From this point Dr. James and a few others endeavored to reach the

base of Long's Peak, but after traveling five or six hours without apparently diminishing the distance, they returned. Like all first visitors, they were the victims of an optical illusion.

On the 6th they passed the spot on which Denver now stands, and reached the base of the mountains at the mouth of Platte Cañon, whence a general survey of the surrounding country was made. The next reconnoissance took them up Plum Creek, across the divide, down Monument Creek to the Fountain qui Bouille, named by Long "Boiling Spring Creek," and thence to the present site of beautiful Manitou. From this encampment Dr. James and two others of the party made the ascent of Pike's Peak, to its highest point, and on their return to the valley Major Long christened it "James Peak," in honor of the intrepid botanist, who was undoubtedly the first white man to set foot upon its crest.

The expedition next passed in a southwesterly direction, along the base of the mountains to the confluence of the Fountain with the Arkansas (Pueblo), expecting to find Pike's block house there, but no trace of it remained. They marched up the Arkansas to the mineral springs just above Cañon City, where they encamped for a short time. On the 19th they turned their backs upon the mountains, and followed the line of the Arkansas River some distance, thence crossed to Red River, and thence back to the States.

Major Long's book is one of the most complete and interesting epitomes of the country traversed by him that has ever been written, abounding in valuable information respecting the savage tribes, the geology, fauna and flora, and the general configuration of the plains and mountains, the principal streams, and their tributaries. The magnificent peak which bears his name was not so designated on the maps until many years afterward.

The publication of Lieutenant Pike's report may be said to have given rise to the extensive commerce of the prairies, to which it is now proper to give such attention as will afford the reader a general idea of its origin, initial points, and the magnitude of its operations from the

earliest times to the dates when trails beaten by innumerable caravans became crowded thoroughfares between the United States, the Spanish settlements in New Mexico, and the British Possessions of the Northwest. For much of these data we are indebted to one of the more intelligent of the early pioneers, Josiah Gregg,* who wrote from the experience of nine years in the Santa Fé trade, and who has undoubtedly written the most complete and comprehensive review of it ever published. According to this eminent authority, an expedition was fitted out in 1812 under the auspices of McKnight, Beard, Chambers and ten or twelve others, who followed the directions laid down by Pike, and in due time arrived in Santa Fé without serious mishap. The province happened to be engaged in one of its periodical revolutions at the time, and as all Americans were even thus early viewed with suspicion, they were seized as spies, their goods confiscated, and the entire party thrown into prison, where they languished until the next turn in the revolt set them at liberty. "It is said that two of the party contrived, early in 1821, to return to the United States in a canoe which they succeeded in forcing down the Canadian Fork of the Arkansas."

Notwithstanding their misfortunes, the tales they recited, tintured more or less with extravagant romancing, of Santa Fé, the wild exciting life on the plains and the character of the Mexican settlements, the enormous prices paid for the cheapest American merchandise, and the opportunities open for this kind of traffic, inflamed other adventurous spirits with an unquenchable passion to attempt the experiment, always under the sanguine impression that they could succeed, no matter who failed. Among the foremost of these was a merchant of Ohio named Glenn, who at the time had an Indian trading house near the mouth of the Verdigris River. He also loaded up a stock of goods and taking the Arkansas River route, after encountering innumerable difficulties eventually reached Santa Fé about the close of 1821. "During the same year Captain Becknell, of Missouri, with four trusty companions, went out to Santa Fé by the far Western route." This caravan started from

* Commerce of the Prairies, 1831.

the vicinity of Franklin, Missouri, with the intention of trading with the Tetons or Comanches, but fell in en route with a party of Mexicans who persuaded the owners to proceed direct to the "City of Holy Faith." Becknell returned to the States alone the following winter. His report being favorable, "it stimulated others to embark in the trade, and early the following May Colonel Cooper and sons from the same neighborhood proceeded to Taos." Some time later Becknell took \$5,000 worth of merchandise and launched forth again upon this always difficult and oftentimes perilous enterprise. He pursued a more direct route on this occasion, but encountered appalling hardships in crossing the desert east of the Cimarron.

"It is from this period—the year 1822—that the virtual commencement of the Santa Fé trade may be dated. The next remarkable era in its history is the attempt to introduce wagons in these expeditions," all prior caravans having been composed of pack animals. This was successfully accomplished in 1824 by a company of traders, about eighty in number, carrying \$25,000 to \$30,000 worth of assorted goods, with which they arrived in safety. But it was not until some years later "that adventurers with large capital began seriously to embark in the Santa Fé trade."

Thus far none of the caravans had been seriously molested by Indians, but the savages now began to comprehend their advantages, and the value of the plunder to be obtained by sudden surprises and bold, quick dashes. The Arapahoes and Cheyennes, then strong in numbers, well mounted and armed with bows and arrows, began to be especially active in swooping down upon and robbing the richly laden trains. After many outrages had been committed, the traders were compelled to invoke the protection of government troops. Thereupon Major Riley, with three companies of infantry and one of riflemen, was ordered to escort the caravan which left in the spring of 1829, as far as Chouteau's Island, on the Arkansas. Here, considering the remainder of the journey free from danger, the troops turned back, but they had taken no note of a band of Kiowas who had been stealthily lurking in

their neighborhood, and keenly watching every movement. The troops were no sooner out of sight than they descended upon the defenceless traders. A swift courier was immediately dispatched after Riley, who returned in time to save the train from destruction.

"This escort by Major Riley, and one composed of about sixty dragoons, commanded by Captain Wharton in 1834, constituted the only government protection ever afforded to the Santa Fé trade until 1843, when large escorts under Captain Cook accompanied two different caravans as far as the Arkansas River."

The central point of departure of trains destined for New Mexico was the town of Franklin, on the Missouri River, about one hundred and fifty miles west of St. Louis, which seems to have been the actual birthplace of the trade, notwithstanding the common impression that it originated in St. Louis. Franklin and towns in the vicinity continued for many years to furnish the larger proportion of the caravans and traders, and even after 1831 a number of wagons were taken over the several routes. Subsequently, however, the main depot was transferred to the new town of Independence, in the same State, situated only twelve miles from the border of the Indian country. From this point also, traders, trappers and emigrants bound for Oregon, took their departure. By this time, likewise, the rugged life and the healthful atmosphere of the plains became widely known as a certain cure for invalids, and more particularly professional men emaciated by overwork or afflicted with dyspepsia or pulmonary diseases, many of whom joined these expeditions and were speedily restored. Gregg himself, a confirmed dyspeptic, adopted this life for sanitary reasons, and pursued it uninterruptedly for nine years. In process of time the Arkansas crossing became a conspicuous point as a halting place where the trains were repaired, reloaded, and put in order for the final stage of the long and trying journey.

A few of the original traders marched directly west to the Rocky Mountains, and thence by a circuitous and difficult route, to Taos. Later they proceeded along a line parallel to that now occupied by the

Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railway, across the Raton Range to the Rio Grande. But the route which found greatest favor, was most frequently taken by wagon trains, and which may properly be designated "The Santa Fé trail," lay along the Arkansas, and via the Cimarron to Las Vegas, San Miguel and Santa Fé. The time consumed in the passage was from sixty to seventy days, according to the course pursued, but the return trip was made in about forty days.

On the 18th of June, 1841, a great expedition, gathered from various points in Louisiana and Texas, left Austin, now the capital of the latter State, for Santa Fé. Its course was nearly due north and after the usual difficulties it reached the river Pecos in New Mexico. The journalist of this force was George Wilkins Kendall, one of the editors of the New Orleans "Picayune," who, much broken in health from the too ardent pursuit of his profession, joined it in the hope of recuperation. His narrative in two volumes, published in 1844, like that of Gregg, is a rare collection of the thrilling experiences of these early pioneers of Western exploration, each in itself an interesting epitome of the trials and dangers passed through by such as possessed the courage to venture out into the then trackless wilds of the Louisiana purchase. Although long out of print, a copy is occasionally found among the dingy second-hand bookstores of New York, whence were brought to Denver some years ago by the present Governor of our State, the works consulted in framing this sketch. Both accounts in their time attained wide circulation, assisted by extracts reproduced by the leading newspapers.

On arriving at the Pecos the Texans were intercepted by a troop of Mexican soldiers, roughly dressed but well mounted, some armed with lances, swords and escopetas, others with bows and arrows. The officer in command proved to be the notorious ruffian Dimasio Salezar, who rode up, and though his ferocious aspect belied his words, saluted the Texans as friends. As they were entering Spanish territory he observed blandly that it would scarcely be proper to proceed with arms in their hands, and trusted they would have no objection to surren-

dering their weapons into his charge, each so labeled that its owner would be able to identify it when returned, after their business with the authorities should be arranged. Finding it useless to resist, as they were completely surrounded, and trusting to the friendly assurances of Salezar, they gave up their arms, which he at once distributed among his own followers. Next, their papers were required. When everything of value they possessed had passed into his hands, the atmosphere of cordiality which had up to that moment prevailed, suddenly changed to one of almost fiendish ferocity. He formed the hapless Texans in line as if for instant execution, and ordered twelve of his ruffians, who appeared to be ready for any crime, however revolting, all armed with muskets and carbines, to march up in front of the line and shoot them down. But he was finally dissuaded by a Mexican named Vijil, who, moved by a touch of humanity, implored him not to murder his defenceless prisoners, and so the order to fire was suspended. In the march which followed, many of the Texans perished from natural causes, as subsequently reported, and some were shot on the charge of insubordination. The survivors finally reached Santa Fé, and were entombed in the loathsome prisons of that city. All through the march Salezar visited his immeasurable brutality upon these unfortunate men, seeking every occasion to humiliate and torture them.

In 1867-8 Mr. Wm. N. Byers, of Denver, passed much time in and about Santa Fé. The streets swarmed with mendicants, but, said he to the author, "the most abject, miserably ragged and destitute of the entire horde, in the last stage of wretchedness, and totally blind, was the once renowned and powerful Colonel Dimasio Salezar, despised by every one, and most intensely by his own countrymen, to whom his barbarity to the Texans was well known. Omnipotent wrath had been slow in coming, but when it came, a most crushing judgment fell upon one of the most hardened criminals of his day. It was openly related in Santa Fé that during their terrible journey across the Jornada the Texans reported by Salezar as having died from sickness, were in fact killed by him; that he cut off the ears of the slain and made a

necklace of them for his war horse, and finally turned them in to the Governor as his account of the shortage of prisoners.

The Northwest division of the Rocky Mountains was brought into great prominence by the accounts given of the Lewis and Clarke explorations, which opened the way for a vast commerce in furs, and for a considerable lodgment of people, while the region we now occupy was but little known until 1858-9, when the discovery of gold brought it to universal attention. All the romance associated with the stirring adventures of a host of hunters and trappers, and emphasized by the fierce contests waged between the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Northwest Company led by John Jacob Astor, centered there, while the Western chain which towers grandly above us to-day, was wholly without history or romance, except such as may be attached to the pre-historic remains of the San Juan. Nevertheless, it is eminently proper to interpolate here a brief epitome of the fur trade as a fitting introduction to the primitive commerce of the prairies.

The Missouri Fur Company was organized about the year 1807, and was composed of twelve partners. St. Louis was at that time a small frontier settlement or trading post, on the northern border of the French territory of Louisiana. Irving tells us* "that it possessed a motley population, composed of the Creole descendants of the original French Colonists, the keen traders from the Atlantic States, the backwoodsmen of Kentucky and Tennessee, the Indians and half breeds of the prairies, together with a singular aquatic race that had grown up from the navigation of the rivers, the boatmen of the Mississippi who possessed habits, manners and almost a language of their own, and strongly technical. The old French houses engaged in the Indian trade had gathered around them a train of dependents, mongrel Indians and mongrel Frenchmen, who had intermarried with Indians." It was from this source that the hunters and trappers in the years following Pike's explorations drifted out toward the headwaters of the Missouri, and the Arkansas and Platte and their tributaries. The Missouri Fur

*Astoria.

Company employed two or three hundred men, Americans, Frenchmen, Creoles and Canadians.

Shortly after 1808 Mr. Wilson P. Hunt of the Northwest Company appeared in St. Louis, with the intention of planting a separate post there. Naturally enough he met with strong opposition from the existing company, but finally succeeded in accomplishing his purpose. At the beginning their operations were confined to the Northwest, but were subsequently extended westward to the Wind River Range and to the Columbia. The American fur companies' men were worsted in their struggle with the great Hudson's Bay syndicate.

In 1822 General William H. Ashley, one of the most celebrated of the early residents of St. Louis, inaugurated a movement looking to the unification of the Indians throughout the Rocky Mountain region of the Northwest in a great scheme of hunting and trapping. His associates in this enterprise were William Sublette, Jim Bridger, Robert Campbell and Major Thomas Fitzpatrick, who together directed a force of about three hundred men. Regardless of the adversities of their predecessors, they pushed this force straight across the prairies into the British stronghold, where they wrestled with, and if they did not overcome the English company, at least succeeded in holding their own. In a few years General Ashley amassed a handsome fortune from the trade and retired. He was elected Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri upon the admission of that State into the Union, and from 1831 to 1837 was one of its Representatives in Congress.

Thenceforward the association which he had conducted so brilliantly became known as the "Rocky Mountain Fur Company," with Captain William Sublette, a renowned frontiersman, at the head. Its operations extended to the division of the Far West embraced within the limits of Colorado. Later this trade fell into the hands of Pierre Chouteau and his associates.

In May, 1832, Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville, of the 7th U. S. infantry, inspired with an irresistible passion for exploring the Rocky Mountains, obtained leave of absence until October, 1833. Instead of the

allotted time he was absent until 1835. From the date of his departure from the frontier nothing was heard of him. His leave expired, he was given up for lost, and his name stricken from the army rolls. It appears that he left Fort Osage, on the Missouri,* in May, 1832, and marched for the Kansas River. From the middle to the end of May he pursued a westerly course, and in June reached the Platte, twenty-five miles below Great (now Grand) Island, passing thence to the North Fork, which he followed to the Wind River range, and thence to the Northwest country. Bonneville combined profit with pleasure in this expedition, by engaging quite vigorously for a time in hunting, trapping and trading on his own account.

Washington Irving,† in company with a large and distinguished party of huntsmen, came West on a pleasure excursion in October, 1830, halting at Fort Gibson, a frontier post on the Neosho or Grand River, near its confluence with the Arkansas. Just beyond the crossing of the Verdigris River, a few miles west of Fort Gibson, stood the Osage Indian agency, where Pierre Chouteau, of St. Louis, had a large post filled with stores for his various expeditions. The route taken by Irving's party lay parallel with the Arkansas, "with the general plan of crossing that stream just above where the Red Fork (of the Canadian) falls into it," and thence westerly to the great forest known as "Cross Timbers." They came on to the North Fork of the Canadian, and then took a southerly route home.

At the early period under consideration game of all kinds native to the country was everywhere abundant, and especially numerous in all the beautiful grass covered parks of the Rocky Mountains. Of these, however, the South Park was especially favored, because it formed one of the finest grazing sections of the country, but was rendered particularly inviting by the salt marshes and springs, which gave it the name of Bayou Salado among early hunters and explorers. Here were found vast herds of buffalo, big horns or mountain sheep, elk,

* Washington Irving. Capt. Bonneville.

† A Tour on the Prairies.

deer and antelope, and along the streams were hundreds of beaver and fur-bearing animals. This region had also been the Snug Harbor of the Yutas, Eutaws or Utes for generations, but was frequently invaded by their hereditary enemies of the plains, when of course, bloody conflicts ensued.

The beaver fur long ago passed out of the uses which then gave it greatest value, and with the fashion disappeared the intelligent and industrious animal which attracted thousands to its slaughter. Even as early as 1845-6 the depreciation in value became very depressing to the trade, the decline falling from six and eight dollars per pound to one dollar and less, which soon discouraged, and eventually deprived the trapper of his vocation. This state of things was hastened chiefly by the French invention and application of silk to the manufacture of fashionable hats, and the substitution of seal and other furs for beaver in wraps and garments.

Ruxton,* who spent the winter of 1847 hunting on the Fountaine-qui-bouille and in the parks, says: "The trappers of the Rocky Mountains belong to a genus more approximating to the primitive savage than perhaps any other class of civilized men. Their lives being spent in the remote wilderness, with no other companion than nature herself, their habits and character assume a most singular cast of simplicity, mingled with ferocity, appearing to take their coloring from the scenes and objects which surround them." Their wants were simple and easily supplied. Their food was obtained by the rifle from among the swarms of animal life all about them; their clothing, traps and powder from the traders to whom they sold the products of their expeditions, and as for their natural enemies, the Indians, they took the chances, in which by virtue of their dauntless bravery and unerring marksmanship, they were pretty certain to secure more scalps than they surrendered. "Keen observers of nature, they rival the beasts of prey in discovering the haunts and habits of game and their skill and cunning in capturing it. Constantly exposed to perils of all kinds, they become

*Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains.

callous to any feeling of danger, and destroy human as well as animal life with as little scruple and as freely, as they expose their own. Of laws human or divine they neither know nor care to know. Their wish is their law, and to attain it they do not scruple as to the ways and means." While there were exceptions to the rule, they were by no means common. To this general summary of their characteristics may be added a colossal faculty for lying. But what is true of the trappers, may be urged with equal force respecting many who drifted out upon the plains with the early pioneers of Kansas and Nebraska, and later of Colorado, or the "Pike's Peak region," as it was then termed. Be it remembered, the country was wild and almost trackless; there were no restraints of moral or statute law to curb the evil passions of men disposed to yield to them. Therefore, perfect liberty quickly degenerated into unbridled license, and the graves of the victims dotted all the trails. Many of the worst desperadoes of the frontier were the sons of wealthy, refined and cultivated people. Once launched upon the adventurous sea of Western life, they plunged into its wildest extravagances, led on by drinking and gaming.

In due course we shall have ample opportunity to portray the development of the frontier spirit in the initial pages of the history of Denver. Proceeding with Ruxton's portrait of the typical trapper, we find him "strong, active, hardy; facing peril at every step, he soon becomes an expert in seeking out his victims, and also in due time fell into just what uncivilized white men might be supposed to be in a brute state." They ransacked singly and in bands every nook and corner of the plains and mountains, and in the course of years stripped them of everything which could be turned into merchandise. They were, in fact, the pathfinders and primitive geographers of the country, pointing the way and blazing the trails for the millions who were to follow in the coming years, and who have founded Territories and States in the lands which their footsteps had traced, and where their traps had been set for the luckless beaver.

The season over, they flocked to the previously appointed ren-



W. H. Brisbane

dezzous, laden with spoils to be bartered for such goods as the trader might have for them, but chiefly for a long period of riot, gambling and debauchery. Coin there was none; even the picturesque State currency was unknown. According to the author quoted, "The goods brought to the rendezvous, although of the most inferior quality, are sold at enormous prices. For example, coffee twenty and thirty shillings a pint cup, which is the usual measure; tobacco ten and fifteen shillings a plug; whisky twenty to thirty shillings a pint; gunpowder sixteen shillings a pint cup, and all articles at proportionately exorbitant prices."

The scenes which followed these meetings of trappers and hunters gathered from all quarters for the seasonal "round up," were exciting in the extreme. They drank, gambled, fought and killed each other: the more reckless losing everything they possessed, first to the more skilful gamblers, and they in turn to the bland and patient trader who rarely failed to inherit the substance of the prodigals, who when the next season came round, went into debt for another outfit. And so the years passed until they perished, or, finding their occupation gone, drifted into other scenes and vocations, while the trader, and his principals back of him in the great cities, the Astors, the Ashleys and the Chouteaus built colossal fortunes, and left them as corner stones to the present structure of American aristocracy.

CHAPTER VIII.

1840 TO 1853—COL. FREMONT'S FIVE EXPEDITIONS TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS—
GUIDED BY KIT CARSON—ADVENTURES IN THE WIND RIVER AND SANGRE DE
CRISTO RANGES—OLD PARSON BILL WILLIAMS—CAMPING ON THE PRESENT SITE
OF DENVER—ST. VRAIN'S FORT—OLD PUEBLO—VISITING THE BOILING SPRINGS AT
MANITOU—TERRIBLE EXPERIENCES IN CROSSING THE MOUNTAINS—ARRIVAL AT
TAOS—PURPOSE OF THE EXPEDITIONS—PACIFIC RAILWAYS FORESHADOWED—
PUBLIC REJOICING IN ST. LOUIS.

Thirty-six years after Lieutenant Pike, and twenty-three after Major Long, came Lieutenant John C. Fremont, then in the bloom of a vigorous manhood, filled with the love of adventure, ambitious of great achievements, and imbued with an unquenchable longing for the applause of his countrymen. Thoroughly educated in the science of his chosen profession, brave to rashness, possessing withal qualities for leadership from which spring commanders and heroes, the mission assigned him could scarcely have been intrusted to better hands.

For some time previous to his appointment, the attention of the government had been directed to the necessity of resisting the encroachments of Great Britain conducted under cover of its great Hudson's Bay Company upon our Northwest Territory, the boundary line between the British Possessions and the United States not having been definitely determined. Taking advantage of this unsettled condition of things, the Hudson's Bay Company proceeded to occupy and colonize the better portion of Oregon, and particularly the Valley of the Columbia River. That part of the country being but little known, these aggressions were not strenuously opposed. The general impression seemed to be that it was barren of resources, bleak and well

nigh uninhabitable, and though of vast extent, scarcely worth fighting for. After 1840 it was discovered that many emigrants were going there from the Western border, and their remonstrances, together with intelligent representations of its value, aroused our statesmen to the importance of an investigation.

In connection with this emigration to Oregon, it may be stated that Fremont's first expedition in that interest was conceived, not by the government, but by himself. Being then a Lieutenant in the Corps of Topographical Engineers, appointed from civil life by President Jackson, he solicited orders from his chief to make an exploration of our western territory with the view of discovering a shorter and more direct emigrant route to the Northwest, and by lodging considerable numbers of Americans in that region, to check, if not overcome, the hold which the trespassers were making upon it. Col. Abert issued an order for Fremont to go to the frontier beyond the Mississippi, which was subsequently changed so as to embrace also the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains. Here was the beginning, not only of the more direct lines of primitive emigration beyond the great water courses of the eastern half of the continent, but ultimately of the trans-continental highways of iron and steel, the creation of six new States and as many Territories, with the endless procession of events which fill their annals.

It is but justice to say, that no man of his time executed a more difficult or important work for his country than this bold explorer, was better fitted for the great enterprises under his charge, or awakened deeper attention to their value during their progress.

Since many volumes containing his discoveries and exploits in detail have been given to the world, and are accessible to all who desire to peruse them, only the material incidents bearing upon the history of our State need be introduced.

The first expedition was composed of twenty-two men, chiefly Creoles and Canadian voyageurs skilled in the ways and byways of the frontier, through long service with the fur companies. It left St. Louis

June 10, 1842, ascending the Missouri River by boat to Chouteau's Landing, situated on the right bank of the Kansas River about ten miles above its mouth. Kit Carson, even then a famous hunter, trapper, Indian fighter and guide, was engaged to pilot the party to its destination. No more fitting selection could have been made, yet it was purely accidental. For sixteen years, from boyhood, in fact, Carson, imbued with an irresistible passion for frontier adventure, had hunted and trapped, and fought the enemies of his race over nearly every section of the plains and mountains between the eastern border and the western sea. Then, seized with a longing to revisit the scenes of his childhood, the old homestead in Kentucky, his parents and friends, he left the exciting pursuit in which he had grown to manhood, and returned. It is worthy of note in passing, that the State in which he was born may justly be called the cradle of American pioneers and explorers, since it has produced a greater number of historic characters whose deeds are stamped upon the early chronicles of the nation, than any of its contemporaries.

Arrived at his old home he found that everything had changed, his parents were gone, and even the log cabin where his eyes first saw the light, had disappeared. He went to St. Louis, then scarcely more than a large frontier outfitting and trading post, with but little commerce or importance. Here he remained ten days, a stranger, alone and unnoticed, in a strange land. Among his fellows he had been a mighty leader, revered and obeyed by all. Here he was but a floating atom without prestige or influence. Soon realizing the hopelessness of such a life as he must lead if he remained, he fled once more to his favorite haunts. On the boat which conveyed him up the river were Fremont and his party, bound for the Rocky Mountains. Neither had seen or heard of the other, prior to this meeting. Fremont was in search of a competent guide, Carson was in need of employment. He applied for the position, and after due inquiry as to his qualifications, was accepted at a salary of one hundred dollars per month. How well and faithfully

he executed this trust, and all others confided to him, are matters of history, and such history as but few men have been born to create.

Accompanied a short distance on its journey by Cyprian Chouteau, at whose post the final preparations were made, the expedition passed along the south bank of the Kansas to its upper ford, and here crossed to the Blue River, following the general course of the latter stream northwesterly, and thence to the Platte at the head of Grand Island, where an encampment was made, and further plans outlined. Pursuing its journey west to the North Fork, the party was divided, the larger part, commanded by Clement Lambert, proceeding to the American Fur Company's post at Fort Laramie, with orders to await the second division at that place, while Fremont with the remainder followed the South Fork to St. Vrain's Fort, situated directly east of the base of Long's Peak, near Thompson's Creek. This post, established some years before, had become a noted rendezvous for hunters, trappers and Indians.

Fremont's purpose in making this diversion was principally to obtain pack animals for the second stage of his enterprise, but with the added object of forming a correct idea of the country, which comprehended also the location of posts on a line to connect the settlements with the South Pass; in other words, the establishment of a short and direct route for emigrants passing from the border to the Columbia. On his way up the South Fork he found the remains of a considerable fort, constructed of the trunks of large cottonwood trees. In the words of his report, "It was apparently very old, and had probably been the scene of some hostile encounter among roving tribes. Its solitude formed an impressive contrast to the picture which our imaginations involuntarily drew of the busy scenes which had been enacted here." Buffalo absolutely covered the plains on both sides of the river, and a large band of wild horses was seen grazing at a safe distance.

On the 9th of July, when about sixty miles below Long's Peak, he met two white men and a mulatto, the latter found to be the somewhat celebrated Jim Beckwourth, who had left St. Louis when a boy and

wandered out among the Crow Indians, by whom he was adopted. Having in the course of time distinguished himself in the wars of that tribe, he was made a chief, which position he held until his separation from them some years later. On reaching a large island in the Platte, it was found to be occupied by a frontiersman named Chabonard, who named it St. Helena. Here he met Beckwourth's wife, a comely Mexican woman of Taos. Forty-five miles above St. Helena he came to St. Vrain's Fort, where he was kindly received, and hospitably entertained.

Halting but a few days, Fremont struck out across the country on a line a little east of north at first, and then northwesterly to Fort Laramie. Here he met Jim Bridger, who, with Carson and others, entreated him not to proceed farther northward, as the country swarmed with hostile Indians. Their representations of the danger created a panic among their followers, who resolved to desert should the march in that direction be ordered. Lambert, however, bolder, or possibly less discreet than his colleagues, sided openly with Fremont, who was not to be diverted from the execution of any part of his cherished plans.

The march proceeded, fortunately without interference from the hostiles. Eight days later they entered the South Pass, whence their route lay along the southerly bases of the Wind River Mountains to the head waters of Green River. Fremont mounted to the pinnacle of the highest peak in the range, and planted the standard of his country thereon. In his report he designates this as the highest point in the whole Rocky Mountain chain, 13,750 feet above the Gulf of Mexico. So far as known he was the first white man to make this difficult and perilous ascent, a feat of which he and his biographers have not failed to make conspicuous mention.

On their return they repassed the point where the waters of the Platte and Green Rivers pursue their respective courses, the one to the Pacific and the other to the Atlantic Ocean, and finally embarking in rubber boats provided for the excursion, upon the North

Fork, passed down the same to the main stream, and thence to the Missouri.

Arrived in Washington, Fremont prepared and submitted his report, which, through the efforts of Senator Benton, was immediately called for by the Senate, then engaged in a heated discussion of the Northwest boundary question. Therefore the reception of this intelligence was timely, adding much to the general information on a subject just then of absorbing interest. One thousand extra copies were ordered printed. The press took it up and widened its circulation among the people.

The fame of the young engineer soon became national, and thereby excited the malevolent envy of the West Point graduates who could boast of no achievements. However, being strongly supported by Senator Benton, the attacks of his enemies fell harmless. He received orders to undertake a second expedition and to connect his lines of the preceding year with the surveys of Commander Wilkes on the Pacific coast, so as to afford a continuous view of the great interior of the continent.

The execution of this order began in the spring of 1843, and, as before, at the mouth of the Kansas River. On this occasion his military equipment was ample for all purposes of attack and defence, including a small mountain howitzer. He had scarcely entered upon his journey before a sharp reprimand for taking such precautions, with orders countermanding his march, were dispatched post haste to St. Louis. His faithful wife received and opened the packet, and divining the effect upon the ambitious spirit of her gallant husband if forwarded to him, she put it in a pigeonhole, where it remained until his return.

When a few days out Fremont was joined by William Gilpin (subsequently first Governor of Colorado), "who, intending this year to visit the settlements in Oregon, had been invited to accompany us, and proved a useful and agreeable addition to the party." He ascended the Kansas River to the mouth of the Republican Fork, followed the line of the latter stream some distance, and then took a northwesterly

course across the country to the South Platte below Beaver Creek ; thence along the route of the previous expedition to St. Vrain, where he arrived on the 4th of July. Remaining here but two days, the march extended up the Platte, passing en route Fort Lupton, then Fort Lancaster. Says Fremont, "This post was beginning to assume the appearance of a comfortable farm ; stock, hogs and cattle were ranging about the prairie ; there were different kinds of poultry, and there was the wreck of a promising garden in which a considerable variety of vegetables had been in a flourishing condition, but had been almost entirely ruined by recent high waters." A few days later the party encamped upon the present site of Denver. Near by were one hundred and sixty lodges of Arapahoe Indians, "who behaved very courteously." On the river bottom they discovered a large grizzly bear, "which, raising himself on his hind legs, took a deliberate survey of us that did not appear to be very satisfactory to him, so he scrambled off into the river, and swam to the opposite side." From this point they diverged from the course originally contemplated, following up Cherry Creek, and prolonging the march to the Bijou Basin. Snow fell heavily in the mountains during the night of their stay here (July 9), affording them a magnificent view of the whitened range when they awoke in the morning. From the Bijou they returned southwesterly to the Fountaine-qui-bouille, pursuing its course to the Arkansas. The condition of the settlement at that time is thus described : "A short distance above our encampment on the left bank of the Arkansas is a 'pueblo' (as the Mexicans call their civilized Indian villages), where a number of mountaineers who have married Spanish women in the Valley of Taos, had collected together and occupied themselves in farming, carrying on at the same time a desultory Indian trade. They were principally Americans, and treated us with all the rude hospitality their situation admitted."

At Pueblo he met and again secured the invaluable aid of his old comrade, Kit Carson. Finding it impossible to obtain supplies either here or at Taos, he retraced his steps to St. Vrain's, but by a differ-

ent route, having first dispatched Carson to Bent's Fort for a reinforcement of pack animals, with orders to join him at the designated station on the South Platte. Proceeding up the Fountain, the party reached the present site of Manitou, where the first object to engage Fremont's serious attention and point out the locality of the famous waters whose praises had been sounded by all the mountaineers he knew, was that of a large fat deer refreshing himself at the lower spring of the series (probably that now designated "Shoshone"). Finding that he had wandered into a terrestrial paradise, Fremont threw himself prone upon the ground, and drank from the spring. After a brief rest he sketched the picturesque loveliness of the surroundings which have made this one of the celebrated watering places of the continent, and published it on his return to Washington, together with an analysis of the waters.

They next crossed the Fountain and advanced to the head of the cañon; thence into the South Park, and to the top of the divide which separates the headwaters of the Platte and Arkansas, and so on into the North Park, in both of which Carson, with Gaunt, had trapped, and explored every stream as early as 1831—and thence down to St. Vrain's.

Meanwhile Carson had arrived from Bent's Fort with ten excellent pack animals and the requisite equipments for the remainder of the journey. Writing from this point, Fremont says: "I had been unable to procure certain information in regard to the character of the passes in this portion of the mountain range, which had always been represented to us as impracticable for carriages, but the exploration of which was incidentally contemplated in my instructions, with the view of finding some convenient point of passage for the road of emigration which would enable it to reach, in a more direct line, the usual ford of the Great Colorado (Green River). It is singular that immediately at the foot of the mountains I could find no one sufficiently acquainted with them to guide us to the plains at their western base; but the race of trappers who formerly lived in their recesses has almost entirely disappeared—dwindled to a few scattered individuals, some one or two

of whom are regularly killed in the course of each year by the Indians. You will remember that in the previous year I brought with me to their village near this post, and hospitably treated on the way, several Cheyenne Indians whom I had met on the lower Platte. Shortly after their arrival here they were out with a party of Indians (themselves the principal men), which discovered a few trappers in the neighboring mountains whom they immediately murdered, although one of them had been nearly thirty years in the country, and was perfectly well known, as he had grown gray among them." The foregoing illustrates but too faithfully the nature of the roving tribes, and their unconquerable enmity to trespassers upon their especial domain. While some escaped by reason of their keen instinct of approaching danger, or by other fortuitous circumstances, many perished in the pursuit of their calling, and their bodies were left to rot where they fell.

Fremont at length resolved to traverse the eastern side of the Medicine Bow Mountains in search of a pass through them, and to this end his force was again divided, the larger part under command of Thomas Fitzpatrick being directed to reach Laramie, and from there go to Fort Hall on the Snake, or Lewis Fork, of the Columbia, and await the arrival of their chief.

Passing through Medicine Bow Pass, Fremont's division followed the north fork of the North Platte to the Sweetwater, crossing the divide along the southern rim of the South Pass; thence to Bear River and Great Salt Lake, taking a northwest course from the latter point to the Columbia, and finally after incredible trials, reached California.

On the return trip he made cursory examinations of the North, Middle and South Parks, "where the great rivers of the Platte, the Arkansas and the Colorado, severally take their rise." In 1845, as a reward for the great service he had rendered the government, President Tyler promoted him to a Captaincy in the Topographical Corps.

Of his third expedition, inaugurated in May, 1845, it is unnecessary to say more than that he advanced along the Arkansas until near

the mountains, then the boundary line of the country; thence to the south side of Great Salt Lake, and reached California via the Sierra Nevada Mountains. The final result was the acquisition of California by the United States.

The fourth came dangerously near being his last. It is a pitiful story of trials, hardships and immeasurable suffering for himself and all who attended him upon that ill-fated, because unfortunately timed expedition. This march began October 19, 1848. It is inexplicable to the reader of our times, that one who comprehended, as Fremont unquestionably did, the severity of the winters here and the impassability of the ranges he designed crossing, should have projected such a journey so late in the season. But it was one of the chief characteristics of the man, neither to hesitate nor shrink from any peril, however appalling to others, when duty or ambition pointed the way. The expedition, though accounted rash to insanity by most contemporaries, was, nevertheless, the precursor of many important events.

The cost of this expedition, for reasons that will be stated later on, was borne partly by Fremont, but strongly supplemented by generous contributions of money, equipage and supplies from wealthy citizens of St. Louis. The route taken passed south of the Kansas River to the Smoky Hill Fork, with the view of locating a more southerly line, which might be used to better advantage for railway purposes than those previously reconnoitered, owing to its greater immunity from heavy snows in winter. From the headwaters of the Smoky Hill the party passed to Bent's Fort, which they reached on the 17th of November. The Indians encamped about the trading post warned him that the snow was deeper on the Sangre de Cristo than had been known in many years, and predicted a winter of unusual severity.

In a letter to his wife, dated the 27th of January, 1849, Fremont details the horrors of his campaign in the mountains, from which the following is condensed: From Bent's Fort he proceeded to the upper Pueblo of the Arkansas, whence he departed with thirty-three men and a hundred and twenty mules, with forage for the same. The fatal

error, as subsequently reported, was in the selection of his guide, a mountaineer named Bill Williams, who, whatever his experience may have been, proved wholly incompetent for the mission intrusted to him on this occasion.

It is possible that neither the historian of Fremont's expedition, nor the Pathfinder himself, were wholly just to the guide who led this ill-fated and ill-advised enterprise. Carson, Fitzpatrick and other famous contemporaries, who knew him as "Parson Williams," from the fact of his having been in early life a Methodist preacher, were more charitable, hence this digression for a brief statement of facts. Williams had lived among the greater part of the Indian tribes from the Missouri River to the Pacific, and had hunted and trapped all over the Rocky Mountains, and, presumably, from the San Luis Valley to the Arkansas. In the pursuit of his erratic career he wandered from one band to another, remaining a sufficient time with each to master its language, then passing to another, becoming in the course of years an accomplished interpreter. Whether he knew the region in detail through which he was engaged to lead Col. Fremont, or only in a general way, cannot be stated, but of his extensive knowledge of the Rocky Mountains there can be no doubt. As a rule, the guild to which he belonged did not bivouac in the mountains during the severest winters, of whose approach they were apprised by certain unmistakable signs, but sought the trading posts on the plains, where they remained until the passes were free from snow, and the streams of ice. Therefore, in this perhaps one of the longest and most tempestuous seasons within the knowledge of white men, it is not surprising that he should have been bewildered by the obliteration of familiar landmarks, and thus led the entire party to disaster. Williams was killed by the Indians some years afterward while on one of his trapping excursions.

But whatever the cause, for nearly twenty days they plunged about in the depths, pursuing first one course and then another in their desperate efforts to reach an accessible outlet. "On the 12th of December," says Fremont, "we found ourselves at the north of the Del

Norte Cañon, where that river (the Rio Grande) issues from the St. Johns (San Juan) Mountains, one of the highest, most rugged and impracticable of all the Rocky Mountain ranges, inaccessible to trappers and hunters, even in the summer time." Nevertheless, Williams with characteristic insistence upon the accuracy of his trail, took them across this elevated range in spite of all protests, for though their confidence in him had been impaired, they were compelled to trust to his guidance, being utterly ignorant of the country, and therefore unable to discover the right course. At the lowest points in the valleys and along the river bottoms the animals sunk to their bellies, and the men to their waists in the soft yielding mass, and as the snow fell almost continuously, those of our early pioneers who have crossed the ranges in midwinter or early spring can readily imagine the terribleness of their situation. To make matters still more intolerable, the weather was very cold, and intensified by strong, bitter winds. As they approached the summit the snow deepened. They were five days in climbing to the top of the ridge above timber line. Here they were further harassed by frequent "pouderies"—light, dry snow which every passing breeze took up and dashed in their faces in blinding clouds. A dozen or more of the men were severely frozen, faces, hands and feet. The guide himself barely escaped with his life. Dead mules and their burdens strewed the dreadful trail; notwithstanding the bitter cold, snow fell without intermission. It became impossible to open a pathway except by beating trenches with mauls fashioned from the trunks of trees. Again the Pathfinder writes from the depths of his unspeakable wretchedness: "The trail showed as if a defeated party had passed by; pack-saddles and packs, scattered articles of clothing and dead mules strewed along; a continuance of the storm paralyzed all movement. We were encamped somewhere about 12,000 feet above the sea. Westward the country was buried in deep snow. It was impossible to advance, and to turn back was equally impracticable. We were overtaken by sudden and inevitable ruin." At length, after herculean effort, the surviving men and ani-

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mals, with what remained of the baggage, were moved down to the Rio Grande. From there a party was sent forward to the Spanish settlements for aid, and provisions for the continuance of their journey to Taos. For this desperate enterprise volunteers were solicited, and four accepted. Meanwhile, those who remained established an encampment on the bank of the river, and there awaited the further assaults of misfortune. When sixteen days had passed without tidings from the "forlorn hope," Fremont, becoming alarmed, started out in search of them. At the end of the sixth day they were found, only three of the four, however, "the most miserable objects," writes the narrator, "I have ever seen. They had been starving. King—the leader—had starved to death a few days before." On the 20th of January they reached a Spanish settlement, "having traveled through snow and on foot one hundred and sixty miles."

In due time Fremont and those with him in the advance reached Taos and were welcomed by Kit Carson and family, who had taken up their residence there. Eleven of the brave company were lost in the mountains, and the greater part of the survivors did not arrive until some days later. While here Fremont was visited by Ceran St. Vrain, who had come up from Santa Fé, en route to the Missouri River, and it was by his hand the historic letter was sent by Fremont to his wife describing the awful experiences of his command.

On the 24th of February he arrived in Socorro, New Mexico, having passed down the Rio Grande via Albuquerque, thence between the Rio Grande and the heads of the Gila to Tucson, and across the Colorado to Aqua Caliente and to California. General Marcy asserts that Fremont crossed the range fifty miles "south of Cochetopa Pass."

During his absence the people of St. Louis, taking, as we have seen, an absorbing interest in this expedition, and acting upon the presumption that a practicable railway route had been discovered, on the 21st of February held a great mass meeting, which was addressed by prominent orators of the time. The following resolution was adopted :

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be tendered to Colonel John C. Fremont for his intrepid perseverance and valuable scientific explorations in the region of the Rocky and Californian Mountains, by which we have been furnished with a knowledge of the passes and altitudes of those mountains, and are now able to judge of the entire practicability of constructing a railroad over them from St. Louis to San Francisco, in California," etc., etc.

Happily they had no report of the fearful trials their explorer had encountered. It was the general belief at that period that he had passed the ranges in safety, and was then in California. Omitting further details, it is sufficient to state, that, having been largely instrumental in saving California to the United States, on its admission to the Union September 9, 1850, he was chosen to be one of its Senators. Here, again, however, ill-fortune attended him. In drawing lots for terms with his colleague, the short term, which expired March 4, 1851, fell to Fremont. Being unable to attend the short term of the XXXIst Congress, his entire career as a Senator was limited to what remained of the long session which terminated September 30th, leaving him but twenty-one days.

At the close of the session of Congress March, 1852, through the efforts of Senator Chase an appropriation was made for the survey of three routes to the Pacific Ocean, with the view of obtaining further information as a basis of legislation for a national highway between the Mississippi Valley and the coast of California. Fremont being at that time in Paris, he returned, with the fixed resolve to fit out a fifth expedition at his own expense, and complete the survey which was lost in his fourth endeavor, and which he regarded as the most direct and practicable route. In August, 1853, he set out, proceeding over the original course. On reaching Bent's Fort he discovered that only the ruins remained. The result of this final journey was admirably epitomized by Senator Benton, who said, "He went straight to the spot where the guide had gone astray, followed the course described by the mountain men, and found safe and easy passes all the way to California, through a good country, and upon the straight line of 38 and 39 degrees. It is the route for the Central Pacific Railroad which the structure of the country invites, and every natural consideration demands."

CHAPTER IX.

1846 to 1857—OUTBREAK OF THE MEXICAN WAR—DONIPHAN'S EXPEDITION—DARING EXPLOITS OF MAJOR WILLIAM GILPIN—PURSUIT OF INDIANS IN THE SAN JUAN MOUNTAINS—SURVEYS FOR A PACIFIC RAILROAD—CAPT. GUNNISON'S EXPEDITION AND ITS TRAGIC ENDING—CAPT. MARCY'S MIDWINTER MARCH FROM FORT BRIDGER TO FORT MASSACHUSETTS—TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS—CAMPING AT MANITOU AND DENVER—DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN CHERRY CREEK.

The annexation of Texas in 1846 brought a declaration of war from Mexico, followed immediately by the movement of a strong force across the Rio Grande. In May of the same year, the American Congress accepted the gage of battle thus presented, and authorized President Polk to call into service fifty thousand volunteers. The number responded promptly to the proclamation, and were mobilized. These proceedings naturally created great excitement throughout the country. The overland division, to which we shall confine our attention, was intrusted to the command of Colonel Stephen W. Kearney of the regular army. A force of one thousand Missouri volunteers under Colonel A. W. Doniphan, was ordered to Santa Fé. From the rendezvous at Fort Leavenworth the campaign began. Here an election for field officers took place on the 18th of June. Doniphan was chosen Colonel, C. F. Ruff Lieutenant-Colonel, and William Gilpin Major. The entire force consisted of sixteen hundred and fifty-eight men, with sixteen pieces of ordnance. On the 26th the advance began under Doniphan, Kearney following on the 29th with the rear guard. The route lay along the well known Santa Fé trail, and in due time the invaders reached Bent's Fort where they halted to await the arrival of Kearney. This fort was subsequently converted into a general depot of supplies.



A. A. Brewster

The divisions uniting at this point, as soon as the requisite preparations could be made, Kearney crossed into Mexican territory for his descent upon Santa Fé. On the 3d of August the command entered the dreaded Cimarron Desert, which was utterly destitute of anything to support human or animal life, and in appearance and by reason of the terrible sufferings experienced by all travelers by this route, fittingly christened "the Journey of Death." Soldiers were stricken down, and animals perished by the score. At length they arrived at the mouth of the Purgatoire or Purgatory River, and there obtained their first view of the magnificent snow-capped Spanish Peaks, and the ranges bordering the beautiful valley of the San Luis. At the Mora, they were at the beginning of the Mexican settlements. Charles Bent, with a companion named Estes, who had been sent out to reconnoiter, returned and reported that two thousand Mexicans awaited Kearney in a narrow, lonely cañon six miles from Las Vegas, and that the position was apparently impregnable, if stoutly held. While engaged in preparations for the attack, Kearney received his commission as Brigadier General in command of all the troops operating in New Mexico. The army advanced in line of battle, prepared for a stubborn resistance, but when it reached the pass it was found that the enemy had retired. Entering Santa Fé, Kearney took possession of the territory, and at once proceeded to the organization of a civil government, appointing Charles Bent, Governor; Don Aduciano Vijil, Secretary; Richard Dallen, Marshal; Frank P. Blair, District Attorney, and Joab Houghton, Antonio José Otero, and Charles Beaubien Judges of the Supreme Court.

The principal interest of our citizens in this narrative beyond which it is needless to extend it, lies in the prominent part taken by the first Governor of Colorado, William Gilpin, in the conquest. Therefore, omitting the incidental movements, we find that on the 18th of September, Major Gilpin, with a squadron of two companies, was ordered to the old town of Abiquiu on the Rio de Chama, for the purpose of chastising the Utes and other tribes who were committing

serious depredations in that quarter. Having been remarkably successful in executing this order, some time later he returned to headquarters bringing a large number of Indians, for a conference with General Kearney. At the same time, writes Captain John T. Hughes (a nephew of General Bela M. Hughes of Denver), from whose account of the expedition from its opening to the close this description is mainly compiled, "an express arrived from Colonel Sterling Price" (noted during the war of the rebellion under the pseudonym of "old Pap Price,") "informing General Kearney that he was short of provisions, and asking for supplies. This was the first and only reliable information we had received of the Colonel and his forces since they left Fort Leavenworth. They were then at Cimarron Springs nearly three hundred miles from Santa Fé."

In October, orders were dispatched to Major Gilpin at Abiquiu, directing him to penetrate the country of the Navajoes, where there were evidences of a formidable uprising, to give the Indians battle wherever they appeared to be hostile, and hold the captured chiefs as hostages for future good behavior. On the 22d of November Gilpin left his encampment on the Chama and began his march against the Navajoes, completing in six days more than six hundred miles,* having followed the Rio de Chama to its source in the snowy regions, transcending the elevated range of mountains which separates the waters of two great oceans of the world, and descending into the valley of the San Juan, a branch of the Western Colorado." He was attended in this long and trying journey by sixty-five Mexicans and pueblo Indians, as guides and general utility men. "The perils, hardships and sufferings of this march were almost incredible.* * * The rugged ways, the precipitous mountains, the dangerous defiles, the narrow passes, the yawning chasms and fissures in vitreous rocks * * * which obstructed their passage, rendered the march arduous beyond the power of language to describe." The author quoted glowingly compares the

*We follow the author, but this feat was physically impossible. The distance could not have been made in the time mentioned.

march of Major Gilpin on this occasion with that of the Carthaginian General of the Apennines, and of Napoleon over the Alps. Snow fell frequently, and in great masses; avalanches plunged down the mountain sides threatening the devoted band with destruction. Meanwhile the Indians of whom they were in pursuit occupied lofty eminences, contemplating with infinite satisfaction the frightful hardships encountered by the enemy. Great as the difficulties were, however, Gilpin charged them, but, as may be imagined, without success. Finally they came to his camp for a parley. Gilpin sent one of their number to Col. Doniphan with a letter stating his position. He then moved with his voluntary captives down the San Juan River toward the Tunichi Mountains, which were crossed. The men floundered through the deep snows; many of the animals fell over the precipices and were dashed to pieces on the jagged rocks below. Here the Indian whom he had sent to Doniphan rejoined him, bearing an order from his chief to meet him at Bear Springs. "The snow was now deep, and the weather excessively cold. The fierce winds whistled along the rugged granite hills and peaks. The prospect was terrible. Half the animals had given out and were abandoned. Half the men were on foot, carrying their arms, stinted in provisions, destitute of shoes and clothing. Sometimes when they lay down at night, wrapped in their blankets and the skins of wild beasts, before morning they would be completely enveloped in a new crop of snow, and they rose at day-dawn with benumbed limbs and bristling icicles frozen to their long hair and whiskers." At length they encamped on the summit of Tunichi range. "The desolateness of the place was dreadful." But "the descent was even more terrible than the ascent had been. * * The crevices in the rocks were filled with driven snow many fathoms deep, so that man and horse would often plunge into these through mistake, from which it was difficult to extricate themselves. Having accomplished the descent at sunset, the men built their campfires—for they had no tents—on a brook issuing from a cleft in the mountain side, where they found wood and grass." Here the long and bitter

travail ended, the remainder of the journey to Bear Springs being accomplished without difficulty.

Meanwhile, Doniphan had been scouring the country in other directions in search of Navajoes, and having made numerous captures, met Gilpin at Bear Springs, when a council was held and a treaty of peace signed, which terminated present disorders. Their next movement brought them to the pueblo of Zuni. "During the entire march into the San Juan Mountains," writes Hughes, "there appeared numerous indications of the precious metals abounding. Blossoms of gold, silver and lead, and some specimens of copper were seen. This whole region of country is unquestionably rich in mineral wealth." At Zuni another council was held, and terms of peace between the Pueblos and the Navajoes negotiated.

This business having been concluded, Gilpin's detachment proceeded to the Valley of the Del Norte by way of Laguna. The results are thus summarized: "The march of the squadron under command of Major Gilpin ranks among the brightest achievements of the war. His passage over the Cordilleras and Tunichi Mountains, accomplished as it was in the depth of winter, when the elements and obstacles were ten times more dreadful than the foe, with men destitute of everything but arms and resolution, meets not with a parallel in the annals of history. From the time of his leaving Santa Fé, including the diversion he made into the country of the Yutas, his column marched at least seven hundred and fifty miles before reaching Valverde, over the loftiest mountains and most inaccessible regions on the continent. The success of the celebrated Navajo treaty was not less owing to the gallantry and energy of this column, in hunting up and bringing in the chiefs of that nation, than to the skill and diplomacy of Col. Doniphan, who brought the negotiations to a happy issue."

While on this expedition Major Gilpin acquired much of the knowledge, not only of the configuration of the Rocky Mountains in the Southwest, and the geography of the region penetrated, but of the existence of gold and silver bearing ores, which led in after years,

during his brief administration as the Executive of Colorado Territory, to the organization of an exploring party into the section where at this time are being developed some of the richest mines in the world. His tramps with Fremont in previous years suggested that this country contained vast treasures. Its promulgation wherever he could find an audience, led to revelations that have built the State. Here he discovered the actual demonstration.

Excepting the conflicts with savage tribes, the burden of which fell upon Gilpin, the conquest of New Mexico was bloodless. It is unnecessary to follow the further advances of the army into California. It is sufficient to say that both Doniphan and Gilpin bore conspicuous parts in the war, participating in numerous bloody engagements, which gave ample proof of their valor, and which have been woven into the history of that memorable struggle.

Col. Doniphan died in Missouri in August, 1887, but Gilpin lives to witness the fruition of his prophecies made years before its birth in regard to the Central State of the great Western Empire.

We now take up one of the three principal surveys designed for the location of a route for a Pacific Railway through a portion of the vast territory which fell into the hands of the government as one of the results of the Mexican war.

By authority of an act of Congress approved March 3, 1853, directing such explorations and surveys as may be necessary to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, the War Department, by Jefferson Davis, its Secretary, ordered the survey of a line through the Rocky Mountains near the headwaters of the Rio del Norte by way of the Huerfano and Cochetopa, or some other eligible pass, into the region of Grand and Green Rivers, and westerly to the Vegas de Santa Clara and Nicollet Rivers, to the Great Basin, and thence northward to the vicinity of Lake Utah on a return route, with the view of exploring the most available passes and cañons of the Wahsatch range, and the South Pass to Fort Laramie. At the head of this expedition

was placed Capt. J. W. Gunnison, of the Topographical Engineers, with Lieutenant E. G. Beckwith, of the Third Artillery, as assistant, and Captain R. M. Morris in command of the escort.

Outfitting in St. Louis, and taking a detachment of troops from Fort Leavenworth, the company made its general rendezvous at Westport. On the 17th of June, 1853, it advanced along the old Santa Fé trail, pursuing the general level of the country between the Kansas and Osage Rivers to a point on the Arkansas three miles below the original Bent's Fort, where it encamped. Lieutenant Beckwith in his report observes that this fort was abandoned in 1849, "but not until the owner had destroyed it." As they met William Bent at the ford, it is assumed that the information came from him. At that time the adobe walls, with here and there a tower or chimney, were still standing, and some of the remains in a fair state of preservation may be seen at this late day. The report comments at some length upon the peculiar advantages of this position for a strong military post, because of its accessibility from all points, the abundance of grass and fuel, and its central position on natural lines from the east, from Santa Fé, from Taos,—then one of the strongest trading posts on the extreme frontier,—through the Sangre de Cristo, and from Fort Laramie, a well known and frequently traveled route. Says Beckwith, "It is on an emigrant road from Southern Missouri and Arkansas, either by the North Park or Cochetopa Pass; and it is in the heart of the Indian country, accessible to the resorts of the Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, and some bands of Apaches, and even occasionally of the Utahs of New Mexico." Exactly why the government persistently ignored the eligibility of this noted crossing and ultimately established Fort Wise, and still later Fort Lyon, a long distance below on the Arkansas in less desirable situations, cannot be related. But the fact remains that Beckwith was entirely correct in his opinion of its value.

Fording the river below the fort, they passed the mouth of Timpas Creek and marched to the Apishpa, mistaking it for the Huerfano, and were thereby led into many errors and much needless investigation.

From the Apishpa via the Sangre de Cristo to Robideau Pass via Cochetopa and Grand River Valley to the Blue River (Nah-un-kah-rea); thence to Green, White and San Rafael Rivers to the Wahsatch Mountains. Since but little beyond the original report which appears in the long list of government publications relating to Pacific railway surveys, is known to the majority of our people, and as this was one of the most important historic expeditions ever projected into and through the Rocky Mountains, a more extended account is thought to be desirable.

Mistaking the Apishpa for the Huerfano, which he should have followed, it was pursued some distance toward its head. Then advancing in the direction of the Spanish Peaks, he bore to the west and struck a wagon trail, leading from Fort Laramie via the Raton Pass to Santa Fé. This was followed to the Cuchara, which was forded, and the party encamped two miles above the point of crossing. Here Captain Gunnison conceived the idea of ascending the neighboring butte, obtaining from its apex a glorious view of the surrounding country, which he tersely describes as follows: "Pike's Peak to the north, the Spanish Peaks to the south, the Sierra Mojada to the west, and the plains from the Arkansas, undulating with hills along the route we have come, but sweeping up in a gentle rise where we should have come (via the Huerfano), with the valleys of the Cuchara and Huerfano, make the finest prospect it has ever fallen to my lot to have seen." This was Gunnison's first experience in the Rocky Mountains, therefore it is not surprising that he should have risen to ecstasies over the splendors spread out before him. As his explorations proceeded the incomparable panorama unfolded with each prominent point attained impressed him and all his followers with the unspeakable grandeur of nature's work in this division of the continent.

From the encampment at the butte, which remained fixed for a time, until the neighborhood could be reconnoitered, Gunnison took a detachment and rode out in search of the settlements on the Greenhorn, with the hope of obtaining an experienced guide. He passed

west-northwest directly toward the Wet Mountains, recrossing the Cuchara at the point reached the previous day. Ten miles further on he descended from the tableland, and striking the Huerfano, crossed it and advanced to Apache Creek; thence more to the north, reaching in due course the old trail from Taos to the Greenhorn. This he followed northeasterly to a spur of the Wet Mountains, when he discovered the camp of a trading party en route from Fort Laramie to Santa Fé. From here he passed over another sharp ridge, descending into the Valley of the Greenhorn, "a stream two feet wide and three or four inches deep." At this point the looked for settlement was found, consisting of six Mexican families, from one of which he secured a guide named Massalino to conduct them to Fort Massachusetts in the San Luis Valley. He then returned to camp, but by a route somewhat west of the one by which he came.

In his itinerary of this excursion, Gunnison recommends that the line taken by him be not followed by the proposed railway; on the contrary it should "strike up a valley or plain ten miles from the mouth of the Apishpa in a course for the Spanish Peaks, cross the Cuchara near our camp of August 5, and continue over to the Huerfano."

Following the guide Massalino, the company moved up the Huerfano several miles along its southern bank, then crossed to the north side to the ford of the Taos trail, but instead of pursuing it over the Sangre de Cristo, they kept on up the river. They next passed along the valley between two spurs of the main chain of the Sierra Blanca, and then turned east, encamping at the head of an adjacent valley. Next day they ascended a giant mountain spur along the top of which they proceeded some distance, and thence over to Sangre de Cristo Creek. In brief terms, their route lay from Huerfano Butte to the base of the Sierra Blanca; thence to the summit of the Sangre de Cristo, down the creek of that name into the San Luis valley, encamping on Utah Creek a short distance below Fort Massachusetts, a government post situated just under the Sierra Blanca in a sheltered valley of Utah Creek, about seventeen miles from the summit of the pass. It may be

observed in passing that this primitive fort, constructed of logs and adobe was dismantled and destroyed many years ago, and was succeeded by Fort Garland near the head of the valley, now a station on the Denver & Rio Grande railway, but long since abandoned for military purposes, the buildings which once sheltered a considerable body of troops who had many sharp conflicts with roving bands of hostile Indians in their time, being occupied by recent settlers, among them the famous Tom Tobins, whose romantic career will be given in a subsequent chapter, and a son of the renowned Kit Carson. The flagstaff still occupies the parade ground within the inclosure, but carries no standard except upon memorable occasions like the Fourth of July or other national holidays.

Having completed his preliminary examinations of the mountains south of the Spanish Peaks, by ascending Gold Branch from its junction with the Sangre de Cristo, and having obtained from people familiar with the region much valuable information respecting the climate in winter, the amount of snow fall and other important data, Captain Gunnison went directly to Taos, then the headquarters of experienced mountaineers and guides. In the course of his investigations in and about the San Luis valley he visited Costilla, then a new settlement just developing into an excellent farming community; the Rio Colorado, or Red River of the Rio Grande, where he found another large settlement, and many other localities. At Taos he secured a noted guide named Antoine Leroux; after examining Cochetopa, Mosca, Gunnison and Robideau passes, Poncha Creek, and the section and river which now bear his name, he proceeded to the valley of the Arkansas. Here he found, like all his predecessors in that country, a number of heavy Indian trails, "attesting the frequent use made of Poncha Pass in going to the South Park and to the Wet Mountain valley, and back to the Rio Grande and Cochetopa." A short description of his route may be given thus: From Robideau Pass, via the Cochetopa to the Blue (now Gunnison) River, and from the Blue cross-

ing to Green, White and San Rafael Rivers to the eastern foot of the Wahsatch range, thence to Sevier River and Sevier Lake.

We have now to relate the shocking details attending the fate of this brave and accomplished engineer of the first railway route established in and through this portion of the Rocky Mountains. Much of the region over which he passed is now traversed by one of the most prosperous railway systems in the world, and occupied by tens of thousands of thrifty and industrious people. Though nearly thirty years in advance of the need, it is none the less true that the engineers who came after to lay the routes of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé, and the Denver and Rio Grande railways, derived material advantage from the knowledge which he imparted.

On the 26th of October, 1853, Captain Gunnison, with eleven men from his military escort, left their camp on Sevier River, Utah, for the purpose of exploring the neighborhood of Sevier Lake, understood to be something over sixteen miles distant. What befel him in this ill-timed expedition, is related by his faithful Lieutenant, E. G. Beckwith. The next morning Beckwith's party who remained in camp and were conducting explorations in other directions, "were met by a man weak and exhausted, reeling breathless into camp, barely able to communicate by a few broken sentences, as he sank into a seat, the painful intelligence that Captain Gunnison's party had been surprised in their camp by a large party of Indians, and he thought, all but himself massacred. Orders were instantly given by Captain Morris, and promptly obeyed by all the men remaining with him of his escort, to replenish their ammunition; and having saddled up their horses, in thirty minutes they were moving rapidly toward the scene of that fatal disaster, hoping to rescue all who might yet survive, and perform the last mournful duties of humanity to those who were known to have fallen. * * * Captain Gunnison had encamped early in the afternoon while the wind and storm were yet fresh, and doubtless feeling the security which men come to indulge after passing long periods of time surrounded by savages without actually encountering them. The abundant grass and

fuel of the little nook in the river bottom, sheltered by the high second bank of the river on one side, and thick willows distant scarcely thirty yards on two of the others, with the river in front, offered a tempting place of comfort and utility, which was perhaps accepted without even a thought of danger. It was known to the party that a band of Indians was near them, for we had seen their fires daily since entering the valley; but an unusual feeling of security against them was felt, as Capt. Gunnison had learned that a recent quarrel, resulting in several deaths, which they had had with emigrants had terminated, and that, notwithstanding this difficulty, they had remained at peace with the neighboring settlers, which had been confirmed and guaranteed for the future in a 'talk' held with some of the Indians of this band by an agent of the Governor of the Territory, during our stay near Fillmore. This information Captain Gunnison told me before leaving, relieved him from any apprehension he might otherwise have felt regarding this band, and was the reason for his having asked for so small an escort to accompany him, which he, as well as his guide, an experienced citizen of the Territory, deemed sufficient.

"The usual precaution of a camp guard had been taken, each of the party—including the commander—in turn having performed that duty during the night. At the break of day all arose, and at once engaged in the usual duties of a camp preparatory to an early start to reach that day the most distant point of exploration the present season. The sun had not risen, most of the party being at breakfast, when the surrounding quietness and silence of the vast plain was broken by the discharge of a volley of rifles and a shower of arrows through that devoted camp, mingled with the savage yells of a large band of Pahl-Utah Indians almost in the midst of the camp, for under cover of the thick bushes they had approached undiscovered to within twenty-five yards of the camp fire. The surprise was complete. At the first discharge the call to 'Seize your arms' had little effect. All was confusion. Capt. Gunnison stepping from his tent, called to his savage murderers that he was their friend, but this had no effect. They rushed into camp

and only those escaped who succeeded in mounting their horses, and even they were pursued for many miles. Capt. Gunnison fell, pierced with fifteen arrows. The bodies of the slain were not all found at dark, and hope still lingered, as a bright fire was built to assure any survivors of safety. But the long weary night, rendered hideous by the howling of wolves, wore away, as this little band of armed men, barely larger than that which had already been sacrificed lay near the fatal spot, and day dawned only to discover the mutilated remains of their recent comrades, none of them being scalped. * * * Some of their arms were, however, cut off at the elbows, and entrails cut open."

It was reported at the time and widely believed that the Mormons, bitterly opposed to further encroachments upon the solitude of their settlement at Salt Lake, and apprehending that a survey might be followed by a railroad, and the consequent incursion of a great horde of elements hostile to their particular institution, had instigated the Indians to this attack upon Gunnison's party, but Lieutenant Beckwith stoutly opposes this theory and places the animating spirit of the massacre where it belongs—to the inherent hostility of the Indians, who, discovering an opportunity to butcher a defenseless party without danger to themselves, yielded to it.

By order of the Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, Lieutenant Beckwith completed the survey to the Pacific coast and rendered the report, including notes taken by Capt. Gunnison.

What may be termed the historic period, years anterior to the rise of the Pike's Peak gold fever, is replete with tales of suffering endured by those who from choice made their homes in the mountains, or who from other reasons were compelled to traverse them when the valleys were buried in snow and the lofty ranges swept by fierce gales which froze the blood of such as were so unfortunate as to encounter them. These incidents of the days which broke and bruised the strong men who blazed the trails and marked the highways for the aftermath of a surging tide of immigration that now occupies the Great American Sahara, richly merit a place in the history of its progress. We make

no apology for introducing them, because no true record of the State we are proud to call our own can be framed without them. And the writer, a relic of a later but still primitive epoch, feels that he would be recreant to his trust, if they were omitted.*

Among them was the march of Captain (afterward General) Randolph B. Marcy, which is scarcely excelled in thrilling adventures by the account heretofore given of the marvelous escape of John C. Fremont from the midwinter clutch of the Sangre de Cristo in 1849, or of Major Gilpin in the mountains of the San Juan. Moreover, we shall discover as the story proceeds, the immediate origin of the rush which brought our pioneers to Denver and the gold regions a year or so later.

While stationed at Fort Bridger in November, 1857, there came to Captain Marcy an order to move his company across the mountains by the most direct route into New Mexico, with the object of procuring supplies for General Joseph E. Johnston's army, and thereby enabling him to prosecute his designs against the Mormons of Salt Lake then in rebellion against the authority of the United States. The Mormons harassed his march by intercepting his trains so that before reaching Salt Lake his stock of animals and provisions were sadly in need of replenishment.

In his report for 1858 the Secretary of War in referring to this expedition, says: "It may be safely affirmed that in the whole catalogue of hazardous expeditions scattered so thickly through the history of our border warfare, filled as many of them are with appalling tales of privation, hardship and suffering, not one surpasses this, and in some particulars has not been equaled by any. Capt. Marcy departed from Fort Bridger on the 24th day of November with forty enlisted men and

*The author was informed by Col. Chas. Page, Surgeon General U. S. A. who visited Denver in September, 1888, that he was attached to Colonel Sanborn's corps of mounted rifles which in 1852 was sent to the Rocky Mountains to chastise the Comanche Indians. The command marched from Leavenworth along the Santa Fé trail to the Arkansas River, thence to the old Pueblo fort and up the Fontaine-qui-bouille to the Springs where it encamped. From that point it crossed the divide to Cherry Creek and encamped on the present site of Denver, whence it passed on to Laramie by the usual route.

twenty-five mounted men, besides packers and guides. Their course lay through an almost trackless wilderness over lofty and rugged mountains, without a pathway or human habitation to guide or direct, in the very depth of winter through snows, for many miles together reaching to the depth of five feet. Their beasts of burden very rapidly perished until few were left; their supplies gave out; their luggage was abandoned; they were driven to subsist upon the carcasses of their dead horses and mules; all the men became greatly emaciated; some were frostbitten, yet not one murmur of discontent escaped the lips of a single man. Their mission was one of extreme importance to the movements of the army, and great disaster might befall the command if these devoted men failed to bring succor to the camp."

This terrible march, extending to Fort Massachusetts in the San Luis valley, thence to Taos and Fort Union, was accomplished in fifty-one days, but might have been completed in twenty days at a more favorable season.

When they left Bridger there was very little snow. The command passed down Henry's Fork to Green River, which was forded, and on the opposite side struck a trail leading to the foot of the range which divides the Green from the Grand. Here Marcy engaged a Digger Ute Indian as guide, and ascended to the summit of the range. Jim Baker, a character well known to early settlers in this region, had been brought from the fort as interpreter, but evidently not as guide. During the first night the Indian, after stealing everything he could lay his hands upon without detection, disappeared, and was seen no more. The next advance took them along the elevated tableland bordering the Valley of the Grand, and two thousand feet above it. Baker was directed to find the trail leading down into the valley, and succeeded. After great difficulty the animals were brought down to the level of the river, where the grass was green and no evidence of winter except upon the surrounding slopes. The point indicated was undoubtedly a portion of the beautiful valley below the junction of the Eagle River, as Marcy speaks of moving up the Eagle en route to the San

Luis. Ascending the mountains again, they struggled along under the guidance of a Mexican who professed to understand the route, and after many days reached the Valley of the Rio del Norte, when the guide, pointing to a mountain which seemed one hundred miles away, said that was near Fort Massachusetts. The snow became so deep in places that progress could only be made by those in the advance falling upon their hands and knees, and literally plowing their way through the drifts. Everything that could be spared had been cast away to lighten the burdens of the men and animals. Their provisions being exhausted, the mules were killed and their flesh eaten raw; their clothing was torn to shreds; their shoes gone, and their places filled with wrappings of cloth, hides, sacking, anything that would protect them from the bitter cold. On reaching the Rio Grande, Marcy sent forward his Mexican guide, with one companion, mounted on the only mules left to the command, with a letter to the officer in charge of Fort Massachusetts stating his condition, and imploring immediate assistance. Meanwhile his force continued its labored march as best it could, half starved, and well nigh perishing with the hardships undergone. At the close of the eleventh day they observed two horsemen at a great distance approaching their camp. They proved to be the couriers sent for supplies. In a short time they arrived and spread the glad tidings of abundant stores on the road fifty miles back, and which would soon reach them. The men shouted, danced, and cried for joy. Captain Marcy declares that he had not slept half an hour at a time for twenty days and nights, and was reduced in the interim from one hundred and seventy to one hundred and thirty-one pounds. He at once turned the guide back toward the train with orders to the teamsters to drive day and night. Next day they met the train, when a scene ensued which no pen can portray. Among the stores were several bottles of brandy, from which the captain served to the men moderate doses of the fiery liquor, but taken upon stomachs long empty of nourishing food, they all became intoxicated. Their chief felt that after all they had undergone they were entitled to this indulgence, and made no effort to

restrain them. Four days later they reached the fort, where they were gladly welcomed, and all their wants supplied. The officer in charge at first mistook them for a band of Indians, as may well be imagined from their appearance, for Marcy says, "Not more than half the men had any caps, and but few had any remains of trousers below the knees. Their feet were tied up with mule hides, pieces of blankets, coat tails, etc. As for myself, I am confident my own wife would not have recognized me."

From Fort Massachusetts they went to Taos, and thence to Fort Union, procuring the animals and supplies which were the objects of the expedition, and on the 15th of March returned via Pueblo and the Fountaine-qui-bouille to the vicinity of Pike's Peak, where Marcy received an order to halt and await reinforcements from New Mexico, as it was apprehended that the Mormons would intercept and destroy his small force while in the mountains. Therefore the command went into camp at Manitou Springs, where it remained about thirty days, passing the time in hunting elk, mountain sheep and black-tailed deer, all of which were very numerous in the neighborhood. At one time from the door of his tent Captain Marcy discovered a herd of at least five hundred elk, "drawn up in line like a troop of cavalry horses, with their heads all turned in the same direction, and from the crest of a high projecting cliff looking in apparent wonder and bewilderment directly down upon us."

Reinforcements having arrived, on the 30th of April the march to Utah was resumed over the divide and down the Platte to the mouth of Cherry Creek. The spring flood had swollen the river to an extent which prevented fording, so they constructed rafts and pushed them over to the opposite shore. "There was not at that time," writes Marcy, "but one white man living within one hundred and fifty miles of the place, and he was an Indian trader named Jack Audeby* upon the Arkansas." In treating the local history of Pueblo we shall have

*Charles Autopees, a half-breed French trapper of St. Louis. Capt. Marcy was misinformed as to the first name, and misspelled the last.



J. C. Turner

occasion to meet Mr. Autobees again, and to relate his connection therewith.

Continuing his narrative, Marcy says : " While our 'ferry boat' was being constructed, one of our citizen employes washed from the sands of Cherry Creek a small amount of gold dust which he showed to me. Soon afterward he was discharged and went to St. Louis, and in a short time the miners commenced flocking to the locality and laid out a town which has continued to flourish ever since, and at this time (1866), contains several thousand inhabitants. It is called Denver City, and I feel confident that the representations made by our discharged teamster in St. Louis and other places were the origin of the location and the establishment of a new city and Territory." We shall have occasion to correct this error in a subsequent chapter. The command proceeded from the then unoccupied site of the future "Queen City of the Plains," to the Cache la Poudre, and reached Fort Bridger without further memorable incident.

CHAPTER X.

LIVES OF THE HUNTERS AND TRAPPERS—THEIR PART IN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY—BRIDGER, BAKER, GOODALE, SUBLETTE AND FITZPATRICK—SIR GEORGE GORE AND HIS MIGHTY RETINUE—BAKER'S FIGHT WITH GRIZZLIES—TORN BY A REPEATING RIFLE—KIT CARSON'S WONDERFUL CAREER—EPITOME OF HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER.

The lives and exploits of the hunters and trappers, idealized and presented with elaborate displays of rhetorical fireworks, have perhaps too large a place in the literature of the land. As a matter of fact, they were to the last degree practical and real, most of them coarse and brutal. All the romance and most of the poetry are the creation of highly imaginative people who knew very little about them. Nevertheless, these characters were in their time essential features of our State and National development. The history of every State, and of every Territory has its beginning with the conflicts engendered between the rightful owners of the soil, and those who came with force of arms to dispossess them. The record of the country west of the Mississippi originating with the agents and employes of the various fur companies, amounts in the abstract to this and nothing more,—that they marked the trails by constant tramping, and stripped the face of nature of all animals whose hides were valuable in the great marts of trade. They robbed the beaver to furnish the heads of men and the shoulders of women with fashionable apparel. They built nothing, founded nothing, and with the exception of a trading post here and there, left no trace that could lead to the betterment of mankind, save their ability to guide those whose cultivated intelligence fitted them for the higher aim of advanc-

ing the progress of the nation. The average trapper was a white man reduced to savagery, consorting with exemplars more savage than himself, only because to the manner born, engaged in unremitting warfare tribe against tribe, and not infrequently uniting to oppose the encroachments of a race they both hated and feared. One was a marauder bent only upon pillage; the other a defender of his home and property, which included the wild animals. The gradual intermingling of whites and French Canadians with the aborigines produced a race of half-breeds, more intelligent, cunning, and cruel than the sources of their being.

Yet in the class distinguished as trappers we find many notable, and some admirable exceptions to the rule. Where shall we discover finer types of native American manhood than Carson, the early Bents, the St. Vrans, Bridger and Baker, Fitzpatrick and Sublette? Even the Indians with whom they battled for the right to pursue their vocation undisturbed, in the long run revered them for their courage, and loved them for their honesty and kindness of heart. There never lived in any land a braver, truer man than Carson, albeit few who have slain so many antagonists in personal encounters, yet withal possessing a womanly nature, pathetically tender, and devotedly self-sacrificing. Of all the heroes we have known or read of, there is none whose presence and bearing gave less outward evidence in repose, of heroism or the qualities of leadership. In physical mould and stature he was not unlike the great Napoleon, but in voice and action in ordinary life the personification of amiability and retiring modesty. But when roused by great events portending danger to himself or others who for the time being were under his protection, he became a whirlwind of vengeance tempered and restrained from rashness by the keenest sagacity and most marvelous generalship. Bridger and Baker, Gaunt and Williams, Maxwell, Fitzpatrick and Sublette with the renowned French voyageurs, were cast in a different mould. Some of them were of large, robust physique, the ideal frontiersmen, whom it was a pleasure for the neophyte to look upon and allow his imagination to revel in the perils they had met and mastered. They stood majestically to the front as

leaders and commanders, but to the diminutive, mild eyed Carson who possessed no majesty of walk or mien, these stalwarts and all others of their kind rendered homage as the greatest and grandest of the guild. He never failed or flinched. A mission intrusted to Carson, whether to thread alone by day or night the trackless wilderness in pursuit of an enemy; as the bearer of good or evil tidings, or as the leader of a force to contend in the field against twice or thrice the number of hostiles, the result was the same, he came out victorious. In the pursuit of their dangerous calling the senses of these men became preternaturally strong and acute. They were trespassers in a country not their own, at least not so regarded by the natives, destroying game and property not their own. Therefore they must be ready to hear the crack of the rifle or the sharp twang of the bow string speeding its arrow to their hearts from ambuscades, and the always terrifying war whoop.

The men who dig our canals and build our railways; who pilot steamships and engineer the trains, are the underlying forces of modern civilization. The pioneers of the West beat the pathways through unknown lands, penetrated the interiors, conquered the aborigines and prepared the way for the surveyor, and he in turn for the locomotive and the palace car. Carson and his contemporaries blazed the trails for Fremont, who mapped the routes for the Pacific railways. Hence we assert that the primeval hunters and trappers, though they founded no cities, erected no enduring monuments, were, notwithstanding, the actual creators of our internal commerce, leading the way for the builders of brick and stone. We are indebted to them for the knowledge which led science and capital to develop the results now before us. This is their part in the imperishable renown of our country, and it is by no means an unimportant part.

In the formative period of our settlement in the Rocky Mountains, Jim Bridger was a familiar figure, with a long and untarnished record. He was a tall, lank, thin man whose face gave bronzed evidence of the life he led, generous, frank and kind, albeit uncouth, uneducated and without a trace of modern refinement. Like Carson, he was a mighty

hunter and strategist, whose years were filled with adventure. In battle he was bold and fearless. He was born in Virginia, but when quite a young man struck out beyond the developed frontier to the heart of the Continent. Here there was but one course open to him, the adoption of the career of those who preceded and came after. In working out his destiny he explored all the broad land between the great rivers and the western ocean. At length, weary of tramping and trailing, killing and skinning, he established a trading post on Block's Fork of Green River, which became the rendezvous of his class and of all Indians who were disposed to be friendly. In due course he became possessed of large flocks and herds, and a modest fortune in money and goods. His influence broadened until it dominated the region roundabout. Viewing the rise of his power with malignant hatred, and resolved to crush it, Brigham Young sent his "Avenging Angels" down there, and blotted him out; that is to say, destroyed his post and appropriated all his movable property. Bridger fled to the mountains, and finally located at Fort Laramie.

In the days of his prosperity there came to him in 1855 an Irish peer, named Sir George Gore, with a great retinue of servants, secretaries, horses, dogs and guns, bent upon a protracted hunt in the Rocky Mountains. Bridger became his adviser, and guide into the region of quadruped game. Sir George possessed a rent roll of \$200,000 a year, a magnificent house and estate, with all that vast wealth and a lordly position could command. Not content with the ordinary sports of his native country, he felt impelled to do something that would eclipse the fame of old Nimrod himself in the untrodden fields of the New West, where everything was rude and wild, and where buffalo and antelope, big horns and deer could be counted by thousands, with a boundless plain for the chase. He brought no less than fifty servants, scores of dogs, bundles of fishing rods, the latest improved fire-arms, and thirty wagons laden with commissary stores sufficient for an army. He remained two years, traversed the North, Middle and South Parks, and most of the country between the Platte

and the Columbia. It was from him the Gore Range derived its name. In the record of this unprecedented excursion, are noted the slaughter of forty grizzlies, nearly three thousand buffaloes, and thousands of antelope and deer.

Among the noted guides of the period between 1846 and 1855 was Tim Goodale, all the better because quickened and enlightened by a fair common school education. He had spent many years on the frontier and prolonged his trips to the Pacific when California was but a primitive settlement.

Jim Baker, kind-hearted, honest and reliable, the very epitome and essence of the ideal hunter in form and presence, scarred from scalp to moccasin by the battles he has fought and won over bears and Indians, whose portrait hangs in one of the art galleries of our city, which no person passes without pausing to contemplate the torn, creased and grizzled features that tell him here is a man with a history; was a native of Illinois, leaving the paternal roof at the age of eighteen, to enter the employ of the American Fur Company whose headquarters beyond the Missouri were established at Fort Laramie. Dwelling among the Indians and marrying into the tribe to which he attached himself, he in time became a veritable aborigine, adopting their customs, habits, dress, and even their superstitions, which in the fulness of his years he still retains. Sober, Jim Baker is a man worth knowing; drunk and irritated, one to be avoided. But to his credit be it said, he rarely touches whisky except when in the settlements at long intervals, when a spree is the inevitable result. Years ago he fell often a prey to the gamblers. On one occasion, when he had been especially fortunate in gathering a large stock of furs, and had made up his mind to return to the States, buy a farm and settle down for the remainder of his days, on reaching a rendezvous where many of his guild were assembled, he was enticed into a game of Spanish monte, and lost all he possessed, the value of his peltries being about nine thousand dollars. Then he went back to the mountains where he remains to this day. Spanish monte was a favorite method of gambling,

and many a trapper has fallen a victim to its seductions. Baker might have been comparatively rich had he saved the earnings of his industry, but at the close of each season everything was sacrificed in the usual way. Thus the traders were enriched, while the trappers plodded along in poverty.

At one time he established a trading post on his own account at the emigrant crossing of Green River, but was driven out by men more acute and less scrupulous than himself. He was familiarly known and highly respected by the Utes, Arapahoes and Cheyennes. When the Pike's Peak immigration poured its long columns into Denver, he came occasionally, but only for brief visits. The ways of civilization were not his ways, so he fled to his tepee in the parks. After the war a misguided friend presented him with a Henry repeating rifle, then a recent invention. Somehow in firing it for practice and "to get the hang of the thing" the magazine exploded, and striking his face, tore one side away. The doctors sewed up the ragged wound, but the scars remain to attest its severity. Meeting him shortly after the accident, and seeing the plight he was in, I inquired the cause. He said, "Well, you see I got one of them new repeatin' rifles, and the first shot I fired the d——d thing bust and split my jaw." But it seemed to him a mere trifle that would soon mend,—interfere with his eating for a few days, perhaps, nothing more serious. He had been shot and mangled and lacerated too many times to mind a scratch like that.

Capt. Marcy relates an anecdote of Baker, the main particulars told by himself: "On one occasion while he was setting his traps with a companion on the head waters of Grand River, they came suddenly upon two young grizzly bears about the size of well-grown dogs. He remarked to his companion that if 'they could pitch in and skulp the varmints with their knives,' it would be an exploit to boast of. They accordingly laid aside their rifles and 'went in,' Baker attacking one, and his companion the other. The bears immediately raised themselves upon their haunches, and were ready for the encounter. He ran around, endeavoring to get an opportunity to give a blow from behind

with his long knife, but the young brute was too quick for him, and turned as he passed around, so as always to confront him face to face. He knew if he came within reach of his paws, that, although young, he could inflict a formidable blow; moreover, he felt great apprehensions that the piteous howls set up by the cubs, would bring the infuriated dam to their rescue, when their chances for escape would be small, so he determined to end the contest at once. He made many desperate lunges at the bear, but the animal invariably warded them off with his fore paws like a pugilist, and protected his body at the expense of several severe cuts upon his legs. This, however, only served to exasperate him, and at length he took the offensive, and with his mouth frothing with rage he bounded toward Baker, who grappled with him and gave him a death wound under the ribs. While all this was going on, his companion had been furiously fighting the other bear, and by this time had become greatly exhausted, and the odds were turning decidedly against him. He entreated Baker to come to his assistance at once, which he did; but much to his astonishment, as soon as he entered the second combat his companion ran off, leaving him to fight the battle alone. He was, however, again victorious, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing his two antagonists stretched out lifeless before him; but he firmly resolved never again to make war on a bear with a hunting knife, saying, he would 'never fight nary another grizzly without a good shootin'-iron in his paws.'"

At this writing Jim Baker occupies a tepee on Snake River Fork of Yampa River in the northern part of Routt County, about one hundred miles west of North Park, and lives as he has done from the beginning, after the manner of the Indians. He comes to Denver occasionally, but at long intervals. He is unable to endure for more than a few days the restraints of modern clothing and the manner of those who dwell in towns and cities. His thick shock of chestnut hair which curls in ringlets all over his head is even now, though he has passed threescore and ten, but slightly grizzled, and his

stalwart form but slightly bent. In conversation he is the ideal mountaineer, but like Carson, with a mild, pleasant voice, almost feminine in its soft cadences. He is eminently good natured, and thoroughly devoted to his friends. The companion to whom he was most deeply attached, Major D. C. Oakes, died in 1886, since when Baker has not appeared.

All the remaining space in this volume might be filled with interesting reminiscences of Kit (Christopher) Carson. To say that he was one of the most remarkable men of his time would be but a feeble exposition of his worth. It may be truthfully said, however, that no man of his class attained the exalted position which he held in the admiration and esteem of all who knew him. Had he been endowed at the proper age with the advantages of the better schools of learning, there is reason to believe from the inherent force displayed in every crisis of his career that he would have become eminent in any pursuit to which his energies were directed. Men of his mould are irresistible forces, and rise inevitably to the loftiest positions for which they are fitted. This man was a rare combination of dauntless courage, keen penetration, true nobility of mind, and generous impulses tempered with discretion and sound common sense, which enabled him to choose, under most circumstances, the right course, both in war and peace. He was pre-eminently honest with himself and with those who trusted and relied upon him. His devotion to duty has never been excelled. His biographer* says of him, "The chief points of his character were determined perseverance, indomitable will, unflinching courage, quickness and shrewdness of perception, and promptitude in execution." Any man who possesses these masterful qualities, supported by physical strength and good impulses, is a controlling factor in the sphere in which he moves.

Carson appears to have been in constant action from the date of his entree upon the scenes which demanded the broadest exercise of

*Col. DeWitt C. Peters, "Pioneer Life and Frontier Adventure" whose work is followed in the preparation of this sketch.

the power within him. The list of his expeditions is well nigh interminable. He was never at rest, never permitted even in the closing years, to enjoy for more than a few days or weeks the peace and quiet of his home and family. Though often attempted, it was no sooner begun than there came appeals for his skillful guidance through fields bristling with dangers. His judgment and valor distinguished him as a sort of Nestorian mascot, without whom no trying journey should be undertaken. He led scouting parties and armies, emigrant trains and forlorn hopes, hunters, trappers and explorers with consummate skill through every peril to the harbor of safety.

The subject of this sketch was born in Madison County, Kentucky, December 24, 1809. His parents were among the original settlers of the State, and his father was a celebrated hunter. At the age of fifteen Kit was apprenticed to a trade that was distasteful to him, but in obedience to his father's desire he pursued it some years. In early manhood he began to hear of the romantic adventures of the Rocky Mountain hunters, and resolved to join them at the first opportunity. In 1826 he attached himself to a party bound for Santa Fé. From the latter point he went to Taos, then and long afterward the resort of frontiersmen, where he soon learned to speak the Spanish language like a native, which in after years was of great service to him. His next venture led him to Chihuahua, and from there to California. In the years which followed, his reputation as an Indian fighter became established far and wide. In the period under consideration it was impossible to avoid these conflicts. To meet an Indian was to provoke a challenge; they swarmed everywhere. Somehow, owing to the traits we have named, he was uniformly successful, whether in command of a party, or unattended. If a desperate chance were to be taken, or a dangerous enterprise to be led, Carson was chosen to direct it. On returning from the Pacific he located at Green River for a time, but learning that his old friend Captain Gaunt was then trapping in the South Park, he with four companions, joined him there. They trapped through all the parks until the approach of winter, when they went

down to the Arkansas in the region of Pueblo and Bent's Fort, where they had a sharp skirmish with a band of Crow Indians. Speaking of Carson, Fremont says, "Mounted on a fine horse without a saddle, and scouring bareheaded over the prairie, Kit was one of the finest pictures of a horseman I have ever seen."

Said an old trapper, who was an ardent admirer,—“If a man has a serious quarrel with Kit Carson, he had better not let him get the first sight over his rifle; for if he succeeds in this his adversary is as good as dead.” Yet he was never known to originate a quarrel among his fellows, but often avoided difficulties instigated by others.

After eight years of mountaineering, the rapid decline in the price of beaver skins owing to the introduction of silk for the manufacture of genteel headgear, together with the scarcity of fur bearing animals, the occupation was no longer profitable, so Carson, accompanied by “Parson Bill Williams,” went to Bent's Fort to ascertain what employment there might be for them at that place. By this time Carson, had become familiar with every trail and pass in the Rocky Mountains, and it is not extravagant but wholly just to say, that Fremont owed much of his renown as a pathfinder to the man who guided him with unerring certainty to the points he was instructed to examine.

Arrived at the fort he was at once employed as hunter, with the responsibility of providing game for its sometimes numerous inhabitants. When buffalo, antelope and deer were abundant there was no difficulty, but when scarce, as often happened, he was compelled to search for it, frequently over a vast scope of plain or mountainous region. While in the mountains he married an Indian girl, to whom he was devotedly attached. The issue of this union was a daughter, and soon after, his wife died. When arrived at the proper age, Carson sent the child to St. Louis, where she received a very thorough education.

Kit was always thoughtful, sober and moral, rarely tasted liquor, gambled not at all, and was perhaps the finest model of a true and noble character known to his kind.

When General Kearney appointed Charles Bent Governor of

New Mexico, this act severed his connection with the fort, and Carson became an important figure in the war with Mexico.

As related in a previous chapter, he visited his birthplace in 1842 and on his return led Fremont to the Wind River Mountains. Having accomplished this mission he returned to Taos, and in February, 1843, married a Mexican woman named Señora Josepha Jaramillo, who bore him three children. In the following spring he was engaged to escort a train belonging to Bent and St. Vrain back to the States, but when two-thirds of the trip had been accomplished, news was received that a large party of Texans were posted some distance below for the purpose of capturing it. Therefore the manager halted, and sent Carson back to Santa Fé for reinforcements. On his arrival, he discovered that they had been sent by the Governor on prior information. The Texans subsequently encountered this reinforcement and annihilated it, but the train reached the Missouri River in safety. On his return to Bent's Fort these facts were made known to him, so he proceeded no further. Shortly afterward he joined Fremont, then upon his second expedition, at the close of which (1845) he settled down in Taos, and in company with a friend named Richard Owens, established a ranch on the Little Cimarron with the intention of raising flocks and herds, and cultivating the soil. These preparations were but fairly inaugurated when the irrepressible Fremont called him for his third expedition, which took him again to California. In 1846 he was sent as bearer of dispatches to Washington, but on the 6th of October he met General Kearney en route to Santa Fé. This officer realizing the value of the man before him as aid and guide for the work he had undertaken in New Mexico, sent the dispatches to Fort Leavenworth by Major Tom Fitzpatrick, retaining Kit as chief of scouts. In California Carson left Kearney and rejoined Fremont, and in March, 1847, was again sent to the National Capital with dispatches, where he arrived the following June, was met by Mrs. Fremont at the depot, taken to her home and treated with all the affectionate consideration and hospitality which that noble and gifted woman felt to be the just due of this trusted comrade and

friend of her husband. He remained some time in Washington where, his fame having preceded him, he was naturally the hero of the day. Through the influence of Senator Benton he was appointed a lieutenant in the rifle corps of the United States Army, and ordered as bearer of dispatches to the officer in command of California. At Fort Leavenworth he was furnished an escort of fifty men. With the exception of a fight with the Comanches at Point of Rocks, the command reached Santa Fé without further incident of importance. Here Carson dismissed his escort, and with sixteen employes hired for the journey, proceeded to the Pacific, reporting at Monterey for orders, which assigned him to duty as lieutenant in the dragoons at Los Angeles. After a winter passed in campaigning, mainly against hostile Indians, he was a third time ordered to Washington as bearer of dispatches. On this journey he visited his home in Taos, proceeded thence to Santa Fé and from there, as near as we can discover, to the Arkansas at Pueblo, thence to Bijou Basin, thence to the South Platte, following the latter stream to Fort Kearney, whence he crossed to the Republican, and so on to Fort Leavenworth.

This circuitous route was taken to avoid numerous bands of unfriendly Indians.

On this occasion he waited but a few days at the seat of government. Returning to Taos, he settled down for a season of rest from years of hardship and incessant toil, but was a few days later summoned to act as guide to the First Dragoons in a foray against the Apaches, who were committing terrible depredations. They passed through the Sangre de Cristo to the Arkansas and scouted the country thoroughly, but without encountering any considerable numbers of the tribe they were seeking. When through with this expedition Carson, with Lucien Maxwell, settled in the beautiful valley of Rayado, fifty-five miles east of Taos, where they hoped to pass the balance of their days. But as with every previous undertaking of this nature, there seemed to be neither peace nor rest for this intrepid hunter. He was soon called for another raid against the Apaches,

who had again taken the war path. In May, 1850, with Tim Goodale he took a herd of horses and mules to Fort Laramie, where they disposed of them to good advantage. After this commercial venture, he again settled down to farming, but his pursuit of husbandry was frequently interrupted for the more exciting pursuit of Indians. His next commercial enterprise was undertaken with Maxwell. They drove 6,500 sheep across the country to California, then in the height of gold mining excitement, where they sold them for \$5.50 per head. This gave them a considerable fund for future operations, but on returning to Taos in 1853 Carson was informed of his appointment as agent for the Yutas, Jicarilla Apaches and several other tribes, which gave both him and the Indians great satisfaction. Nevertheless, the latter caused him an immense amount of trouble, and kept the troops busy with countless uprisings. During the latter part of 1854-5 the Apaches and Yutas (Utes) frequently confederated in wars upon the Mexicans and antagonistic savages. The Muache Apaches and the Utes some time later united in a formidable war, and immediately began a series of fiendish atrocities upon the inhabitants of the ranches and small villages, spreading consternation throughout the country. At length the Governor of the Territory and the commanding General resolved to send a strong force against them. Volunteers were called for, and the quotas were soon filled. On being organized they were placed under the command of Mr. Ceran St. Vrain of Taos, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Meanwhile, Col. T. T. Fauntleroy marched up from Fort Union with two companies of dragoons and a rifle corps, and assumed command of the entire force. Carson was engaged as guide and chief of scouts. When fully prepared they marched to Fort Massachusetts. The weather was very cold and stormy. Following the Rio Grande to the point where Fremont met with such appalling disasters in the Sangre de Cristo range, Carson, who was in advance, discovered the trail of the Indians, which led through Saguache Pass, and just beyond which he found the enemy drawn up in line of battle under the celebrated Chief Blanco to resist

the passage of the troops. The latter charged, and, as usual, the Indians fled, but were overtaken, when a long running fight ensued. Several were slain, but the survivors took to the hills and escaped. Next day with Carson leading, as before, the trail was again discovered and the Indians overtaken, when a sharp action occurred in which many were killed. But the American horses being no match for the Indian ponies in this sort of work, soon gave out, when the troops returned to Fort Massachusetts for fresh animals and further supplies. After a few weeks of rest the force was divided, St. Vrain with the volunteers and Fauntleroy with the regulars, each taking a different direction. The latter moved along the base of the mountains to the head of the valley and thence to Poncha Pass, which is the main opening through the mountains that bound the San Luis on the north. From this point he advanced to the head waters of the Arkansas, where he struck a fresh trail which indicated the presence, farther on, of a large body of Indians. At daybreak in the morning the camp was discovered, and, as anticipated, it was a very large one. Fauntleroy moved his force quietly and as secretly as possible to within a short distance of the village, poured a deadly volley into it, and then charged. The savages, though taken by surprise, made a stout resistance for a time, and then fled, hotly pursued by the troops. The camp with all its plunder, fell into the hands of the regulars. A great many Indians were killed on the field, and many more in the pursuit. This was one of the bloodiest battles ever fought in the Rocky Mountains, and occurred near the site of the present city of Leadville. Meanwhile St. Vrain and his volunteers had been equally successful in meeting and chastising the redskins on the route of their march, and this closed the war.

Again Carson located at Taos and assumed the duties of his office. When the war of the Rebellion broke out he at once declared for the Union. At an early period, in recognition of his great services he was appointed Colonel of the First Regiment New Mexico Volunteers under command of General Canby. Kit's first battle

occurred at Valverde against the Texans under Sibley, who were afterward soundly thrashed by the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers. Subsequently his regiment was engaged in detached service under Gen. Carleton against the Indians, in which Kit performed valiant duty in frequent engagements with Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Navajoes. In one of his campaigns against the latter he was badly defeated, but soon turned the rout into a victory. At the head of two thousand picked men, Californians, Mexicans and his own brave mountaineers, he drove the Indians into a ravine and captured the entire force, probably the largest capture of the kind ever known. Peters places the number at ten thousand, which we are inclined to doubt. However, this put an end to Navajo wars and depredations for a long period of time. For this exploit he was breveted a Brigadier General of Volunteers, and was retained in his rank and command long after the close of the war of the Rebellion. Later, when the Sioux became very troublesome and threatened a formidable outbreak, Carson was sent to them as a Peace Commissioner, with power to negotiate a treaty, which was accomplished to the entire satisfaction of the contracting parties.

In 1864 he commanded at Fort Union, New Mexico, and in 1865-6 at Fort Garland in the San Luis Valley. In 1867 he settled with his family at Boggsville, in Bent County. At this time his health began to suffer from the prodigious strain of the life he had led, and was fatally undermined by a severe cold contracted while on a visit to Washington with a party of Ute chiefs in charge of A. C. Hunt. On reaching Denver on his return from this trip he was confined to his bed at the old Planter's House, situated on the corner of Blake and G streets (now Sixteenth), on the site of the present Witter Block. When sufficiently recovered he was taken to his home. He died May 24, 1868, his cherished wife having preceded him by only a few days. They were buried side by side in the garden of Mr. C. L. Rite, at Boggsville, but the remains were exhumed some time afterward and reinterred at Taos.



Thos. S. Hawkins

The first number of the Pueblo "Chieftain," issued June 1, 1868, contains an eloquent eulogy of Christopher Carson, written by Judge Wilbur F. Stone, from which the following testimonial is extracted: "He stood pre-eminent among the pathfinders and founders of empire in the Great West, and his long career, ennobled by hardship and danger, is unsullied by the record of a littleness or meanness. He was nature's model of a gentleman, kindly of heart, tolerant to all men, good in virtues of disposition rather than great in qualities of mind. He has passed away—dying as through his life-long he had lived—in peace and charity with all, and leaving behind him a name and memory to be cherished by his countrymen so long as modesty, valor, unobtrusive worth, charity and true chivalry survive among men.'

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORIC SETTLEMENTS IN COLORADO BETWEEN 1826 AND 1858—ARRIVAL OF THE BENTS AND ST. VRAIN—FIRST STOCKADE ON THE ARKANSAS AND TRADING POSTS SUBSEQUENTLY ERECTED—TRAFFIC AMONG THE INDIANS—TRAGIC DEATH OF CHARLES BENT—SETTLEMENTS ON ADOBE CREEK AND THE GREENHORN—THE OLD PUEBLO FORT—INDIAN MASSACRE—FORT MASSACHUSETTS—POSTS IN NORTHERN COLORADO—VASQUEZ, LUPTON AND ST. VRAIN—INDIAN TRIBES OF THE PLAINS, THEIR ORIGIN AND MIGRATIONS.

Before introducing the great epoch of modern enterprise that began with the discovery of gold, the period in which the furrows were plowed, the seeds planted and the fissures opened for the bounteous harvest which ultimately gave Colorado her enviable place in the sisterhood of the States, it is proper to collect and weave together numerous and widely scattered fragments relating to the period between 1826 and 1858. The connection will then be historically complete, and there will be little occasion to retrace our steps for further inquiry.

Undoubtedly the first human habitation erected within the limits of our State, excepting the tepees or wigwams of the aborigines, was in the form of a blockhouse or stockade built for winter quarters by Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, in 1806-7, on the Arkansas River near the present town of Cañon. The next was established in the San Luis Valley by the same officer, under the erroneous impression that in the Rio Grande he had discovered the long sought Red River of the West. Between the dates last mentioned and 1826 there is absolutely nothing on the face of the country or in recorded testimony to indicate that any white man built a fixed abode at any point in the 106,475 square miles of territory which now comprises our prosperous commonwealth.

Pike's report created great interest for a time, as a sort of romantic story from some wonderland which he alone had penetrated, as we received the accounts of Livingston and Stanley from the mysterious interior of Africa, but without creating a desire to enter in and occupy a land so trackless, wild and inhospitable. There were illimitable regions of rich, fertile and abundantly-timbered lands along the great water courses between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi to be peopled and reclaimed. Emigrants came not to our shores by thousands annually then as now, but in small numbers, by the slow sailing vessels. Consequently the States developed gradually, attaining in half a century a growth which in the later eras under the rapid transit steamships was accomplished in a single decade. Instead of marching out to the Western prairies to wrestle with savages for no adequate reward, the pioneers of the East preferred to remain and finish the conquest of those which obstructed their progress, itself the work of several generations. In those days, too, distances were not annihilated by steam and electric forces. Hence the region remained a wilderness until the time arrived for its incorporation into the broad and comprehensive plan of development which began in 1860.

In tracing the stream to its source, we find that in 1826, shortly after the movement of the fur trade in this direction, and the opening of our inland commerce with Santa Fé, Charles Bent, with three brothers, William, Robert and George, and Ceran St. Vrain, all hunters and trappers of the class known as French Canadians, long engaged with the American Fur Company in the mountains of the Northwest, arrived on the Arkansas River and erected a stockade of long stakes or pickets driven into the ground, which, when sealed and roofed, served the purpose of a rude trading post. It was located at a point on the left or north bank of the stream, about midway between Pueblo and Cañon City, and was occupied by its builders for about two years. In 1828, finding it necessary to be in closer proximity to the richer hunting grounds of the Arkansas Valley, the Bents moved down to a point twelve miles northeast of the present town of Las Animas, and there began

the construction of a larger and more pretentious structure of adobe or sun dried bricks. But for some reason unexplained it was not completed until 1832. Meanwhile, it is assumed the founders lived in tents of skins like the natives, when shelter was required from the hot suns and storms of summer and the chilling blasts of winter. When finished the station was named "Fort William," in honor of "Colonel" or William Bent, who was the animating spirit of the enterprise, and indeed the principal trader, who took long journeys out among the Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Kiowas and Comanches, and perhaps other tribes, along the rivers far to the east and southwest, exchanging the goods he carried upon pack animals, and which the Indians eagerly coveted, for the furs and peltries they had gathered. On one of these expeditions he married a comely Cheyenne maiden, the daughter of a powerful chief.

A remarkable man in his day was William Bent, not perhaps according to the æsthetic standard, but in the estimation of his fellows and of the red men, where his iron firmness yet kindly manners, his integrity, truthfulness and courage, not only compelled admiration, but endeared him to them. As a consequence, no such harvests as he gathered were open to his competitors in the traffic, and when his heavily laden trains reached St. Louis, bearing the fruits of his enterprise, they came like ships bearing coveted cargoes from foreign lands.

The post which bore his name, and prospered under his subtle management—for both Charles and St. Vrain resided mainly in Taos,—became the popular resort of mountaineers and plainsmen, and was generally surrounded by large encampments of Indians. It was destroyed in 1852 under the following circumstances:

It appears that the Federal government by whom it had been used as an interior base of supplies for General Kearney's troops in the conquest of New Mexico, began negotiations for its purchase. Col. Bent had but one price—\$16,000. The representatives of the government offered \$12,000, which he refused. Wearying of the controversy, the Colonel while in a passion removed all his goods except some kegs

of gunpowder, and then set fire to the old landmark. When the flames reached the powder there was an explosion which shattered and threw down portions of the walls, but did not wholly destroy them. The remains of this once noted structure stand to this day, melancholy relics of an epoch that marks the primordial settlement of white men upon this division of the continent.

In 1852 the site of a third and much more imposing station was selected by the indomitable Colonel, forty miles above or west of the one just considered, on the same side of the Arkansas, at a point then known as "Big Timbers." Respecting this venture Judge R. M. Moore of Las Animas, a son-in-law of William Bent, writes the author as follows: "Leaving ten men in camp to get out stone for the new post, Col. Bent took a part of his outfit and went to a Kiowa village about two hundred miles southwest, and remained there all winter, trading with the Kiowas and Comanches. In the spring of 1853 he returned to Big Timbers, when the construction of the new post was begun, and the work continued until completed in the summer of 1854; and it was used as a trading post until the owner leased it to the government in the autumn of 1859. Col. Sedgwick* had been sent out to fight the Kiowas that year, and in the fall a large quantity of commissary stores had been sent to him. Col. Bent then moved up the river to a point just above the mouth of the Purgatoire, and built several rooms of cottonwood pickets and there spent the winter. In the spring of 1860 Col. Sedgwick began the construction of officers' buildings, company quarters, corrals and stables, all of stone, and named the place Fort Wise, in honor of Gov. Wise of Virginia. In 1861 the name was changed to Fort Lyon, in honor of Gen. Lyon, who was killed at the battle of Wilson's Creek, Missouri."

In the spring of 1866 the Arkansas River overflowed its banks, swept up into the fort, and undermining the walls, rendered it untenable for military purposes. The camp was moved to a point twenty miles below, and new Fort Lyon erected. The old post was repaired

*The lamented General Sedgwick, killed at Spottsylvania, Va., May 2, 1864.

and used as a stage station by Barlow, Sanderson & Co., who ran a mail, express and passenger line between Kansas City and Santa Fé, with a branch from Pueblo.

When Gen. Kearney occupied Santa Fé in 1846, he appointed Charles Bent civil Governor of New Mexico. In the latter part of December, 1847, after the departure of Col. Doniphan from the Territory, a conspiracy was hatched by Mexicans and certain Pueblo Indians of Taos to recapture the country from the Americans. But the plot was discovered, and a number of the leaders arrested and imprisoned. This, it was believed, would put an end to the contemplated uprising, but the embers of revolt soon broke out afresh. Governor Bent,* "supposing all danger past, left the capital on January 14, 1848, to visit his home and family at Taos. He was accompanied by five persons, including the Sheriff, Prefect of the County, and the Circuit Attorney. On the night of the 19th a large body of men, partly Mexicans and partly Pueblo Indians, attacked his residence and succeeded not only in killing the Governor, but also the Sheriff of the county, Stephen Lee; J. W. Leal, the Circuit Attorney; Cornelio Vijil, the Prefect; Narcisso Baubien, a son of Judge Baubien, and Pablo Jaramillo."

From an historical sketch of Fremont County by Hon. B. F. Rockafellow, we find that a French trader named Maurice, who came west from Detroit, established a trading post at Adobe Creek in that county about the year 1830. A small party of Mexicans followed, and engaged in farming. In 1838 the Mexicans, affrighted at the approach of a war party of Sioux and Arapahoes, took refuge in Maurice's fort. The Indians came to demand of Maurice a Ute squaw who was living at the post. The trader put them off with parleys for delay until he could dispatch a swift messenger to a large band of Utes encamped in the Wet Mountain Valley. They came at once in response to the summons, and met their old antagonists in a long and bloody battle, in which the Utes were victorious.

* Prince, History of New Mexico.

According to the same authority Charles Bent, Lupton, St. Vrain, Baubien and Lucien Maxwell founded an American settlement on Adobe Creek in 1840, which remained until 1846 and then disappeared. There were a few Mexican settlers, with American hunters and trappers, on the Greenhorn and Huerfano about the same period.

The Pueblo fort, from which the second city in our State derived its name, is said to have been built about the year 1842 by George Simpson and two associates named Barclay and Doyle. Ruxton, who stopped there in 1847, en route from Mexico to the States, says at that time it was "a small square fort of adobe with circular bastions at the corners, no part of the walls being more than eight feet high, and round the inside of the yard or corral are built some half dozen little rooms inhabited by as many Indian traders and mountain men. They live entirely upon game, and the greater part of the year without even bread, since but little maize is cultivated. As soon as their supply of meat is exhausted, they start to the mountains with two or three pack animals and bring them back in two or three days loaded with buffalo or venison. In the immediate vicinity of the fort game is very scarce, and the buffalo have within a few years deserted the neighboring prairies, but they are always found in the mountain valleys, particularly in one called Bayou Salado (South Park), which abounds in every species of game, including elk, bears, deer, big horns or Rocky Mountain sheep, buffalo, antelope, etc."

Further research into the origin of Pueblo leads to the belief that it was established in 1840, and Hardscrabble, thirty miles above on the Arkansas, about 1843. Indian agent Fitzpatrick, one of the most experienced of Western trappers, writes from Bent's Fort in 1847, "About seventy-five miles above this place, and immediately on the Arkansas River, there is a small settlement, the principal part of which is composed of old trappers and hunters; the male part of it are mostly Americans, Missouri French, Canadians and Mexicans. They have a tolerable supply of cattle, horses, mules, etc., and I am informed that this year they have raised a good crop of wheat, corn, beans, pumpkins and other veg-

etables. They number about one hundred and fifty souls, and of this number, about sixty men, nearly all have wives and some have two. These wives are of various Indian tribes as follows, viz: Blackfeet, Assiniboines, Arickarees, Sioux, Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Snake, Simpitch (from west of the Great Lake) Chinock (from the mouth of the Columbia) Mexicans and Americans. The American women are Mormons, a party of Mormons having wintered there, and on their departure for California left behind them two families. These people are living in two separate establishments, near each other, one called "Punble" (Pueblo) and the other Hardscrabble. Both villages are fortified by a wall twelve feet high, composed of adobe. These villages are becoming the resort of all idlers and loafers. They are also becoming depots for the smuggling of liquors from New Mexico into this country."*

In addition to the settlements, if they may be so dignified, of Bent's Fort and Pueblo, we have Fort Massachusetts, established on the west bank of Utah Creek, eighty-five miles north of Taos, in what is now the San Luis Valley, June 22, 1852. The fort was dismantled June 24, 1858, and a new post built and called Fort Garland. The first was constructed of logs, the latter of adobe. Both were important military stations in their day, and the troops stationed there had many a fierce contest with roving bands of Indians. Here ends for the present the earlier annals of Southern and Southwestern Colorado.

Let us now cross the divide to the northward and discover the origin of settlement along the now rich and well populated valley of the Platte, which, with its tributaries, has been converted into the agricultural garden of the State.

*From Gen. R. M. Stevenson's sketch of the early history of Pueblo County, we condense the details of a tragic event as related to him by Charley Autobeas, a French trapper and mountaineer. On Christmas Day, 1854, the Pueblo fort was occupied by seventeen trappers and hunters who assembled to celebrate the winter holiday, having obtained a quantity of Mexican whisky known as "Taos lightning." While engaged in feasting and drinking, a band of Mountain Utes came along and were invited to join the festivities, which they eagerly accepted. In due course all became furiously drunk, and in the riotous proceedings which followed, the Indians killed every white man on the premises. Such as escaped were followed and shot. One of the party, and the only one who survived to tell the tale, was a teamster who, in the morning of the fatal day had gone to St. Charles for supplies, and returning in the evening, discovered the mutilated bodies of his comrades.

In this valley we have the record of four conspicuous stations, the first built by Louis Vasquez in 1832, opposite the mouth of the Vasquez Fork (Clear Creek) four miles below Denver. It was formed of cottonwood logs and, like all its contemporaries, garrisoned by hunters and trappers. The second was named Fort Lancaster, and situated on the east side of the Platte six miles above the station on the Burlington and Missouri Railway known as Lupton; the third Fort Lupton, and the fourth St. Vrain, the latter founded about the year 1840. With the lapse and decay of time, all save Lupton have disappeared. There was a distinctly marked business method in the location and dates of the respective posts. At first the buffalo and other quadruped game made their feeding grounds along the bases of the mountains near the running streams. Being constantly pursued by the tireless hunters they crossed the Platte and fled to the verdant plains to the eastward, where new posts near the newer ranges became a necessity.

It seems eminently proper to submit at this time a brief statement relating to such of the Indian tribes—the aboriginal owners of the Territory lying between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains, as may have a bearing upon the prehistoric annals of the country. To attempt anything like a history of all the tribes would lead us too far from the general purpose of this work, besides occupying space that may be more profitably devoted to other matters. But the subject is at least one well worthy of passing consideration. The enlightened emigrant of 1858—and his followers in subsequent years, given to close observation, naturally expended some earnest thought upon the natives he encountered, and, naturally enough, wondered how and when they came, or, if they had always roamed up and down the country spending their time in war and the chase. He met the remnants of once numerous and powerful nations, now decimated and degraded to mere fragments, stripped of power, and reduced to beggary. What were they in the zenith of their strength? Their destiny was already manifest, requiring no prophetic vision to foretell the closing scene. Overborne by the surging tide of an irresistible movement, there could be but one result—their extinction.

If men sow not, neither shall they reap. These red men stubbornly refused to accept the conditions held out to them by modern law, so they were plowed under and forgotten. The whirlwind of civilized force swept over and blotted them out. Though renowned in war with their own species, they became helpless as babes before the resistless torrent. Humanitarians call it harsh, barbarous and cruel, but it was predestined. The march of progress from Plymouth Rock to the Western rivers had been marked by trails of fire and blood. The Christian fathers carried their guns, and torches as we ours, and aimed to kill. There was no middle course. The crusade begun from the anchorage of the Mayflower was not ordained to stop until it had mastered the continent. We could not halt at the Mississippi or the Missouri and declare that all east of that line should belong to the white man, and all west of it to the Red; that half of the continent should be devoted to the pursuits of civilization, and the balance permitted to continue unimproved and under the rule of savages who would neither toil nor spin. And so the sanguinary procession advanced, the white man took possession, and the barbarian disappeared.

We learn from the veteran Schoolcraft that west of the Mississippi there were two generic stocks of great importance, the Dakotas or Sioux, and the Shoshones, and that they occupied an immense territory—that is to say, claimed it as a hereditary right, hunted over it, and fought all trespassers upon it. Of these the Sioux were numerically, intellectually and, as a rule, physically superior to the Shoshones. It is believed that they originated in the South, and embraced the Arkansas, Quappas, Caddoes, Wichitas, Osages, Kansas, Pawnees, Iowas, Otoes, Poncas, Omahas, Missouris, Arickarees, Minnetarees, Tetons, Yanktons and others, including the Crows and the Mandans.

On the other hand, the Shoshones or Snakes and their various tribal divisions, from the remotest times occupied the plateaus and parks of the Rocky Mountains, until driven out by the present generation of settlers. In Texas they are Comanches, in Colorado Utes. The range of this group covered all the country now embraced in Texas, Colorado,

Wyoming, Oregon, Nevada, Montana, Arizona, California, Idaho and New Mexico.

The Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Kiowas of whom the early immigrants had most intimate knowledge through frequent encounters, were strong, warlike and cruel. There was a report that the Arapahoes were descended from the Blackfeet; that a hunting party accompanied by their families came down from the north to the Platte about seventy-five years ago, and being cut off by a severe snowstorm, wintered here. The season in this latitude being mild and pleasant, the country abounding in game, and generally a better region to live in than the one they had left, they decided to remain. How much truth there may be in the story, if any, we are unable to say. We found them here and know that they roamed the plains in large numbers from the country of the Pawnees to the bases of the mountains and down into the valley of the Arkansas River. Schoolcraft gives color to the report by stating that they were of Blackfeet stock.

The Cheyennes were pushed westward from Dakota by the more powerful Sioux, and located first in the Black Hills where they divided and scattered, the larger portion moving westward and uniting with the Arapahoes, a union which continued unbroken to the last. Intensely warlike, of robust physique, scarcely less skillful than the Sioux, the two tribes were in almost constant conflict with their enemies of other nations, but more especially with the Utes, whom they hated with unquenchable malevolence, and by whom the feeling was fully reciprocated.

Many of our readers of the olden time remember the sanguinary engagement between General Harney and a war party of Sioux on the plains in 1855, in which a great many braves, squaws and children were slain; also the later battles in the Powder River region, in 1866-8, wherein Colonel Fetterman and his entire command were massacred; the careers of the celebrated chief Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, who figured prominently in later days. Schoolcraft tells us that Red Cloud "was born at the Forks of the Platte in 1820; was made a chief for bravery in battle, and rose to be head chief in 1850. He is said to have been in

eighty-seven engagements, and frequently wounded." Red Cloud stood six feet six in his moccasins, possessed wonderful sagacity, marvelous eloquence in council, and wielded until he became too old for the field, absolute power over his tribe.

The Comanches made their home in Texas, but frequently instituted wild raids upon the plains, up to the mountains, and over into New Mexico. Brave, expert horsemen, shrewd and skillful in battle, they were perhaps the most formidable of all the tribes when in action.

The Utes, members of the Snake family, have held the parks and valleys to be their exclusive property from time immemorial, and contended for their rights successfully against all comers. Though attacked periodically and in force by other nations, they were never dislodged, and never yielded an inch of their domain until compelled to part with it under recent treaties. They confederated with the bloodthirsty Apaches in forays against the Mexicans from the earliest settlement of the neighboring territory, and were no less brave and cruel than their exemplars of the Arizona Mountains.

The Kiowas, a branch of the Shoshones, ranged along the Platte and Arkansas Rivers down to the Canadian, and not infrequently to the Rio Grande. They took a prominent part by themselves and in conjunction with the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, in the wars which began in 1864, and continued with brief intermissions down to the completion of the Kansas Pacific Railway in 1870, which ran across their trails. What became of these various bands of nomads, will appear in the course of our history.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PANIC OF 1857—EMIGRATION TO THE WEST—DISCOVERIES OF GOLD IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS FROM 1595 TO 1860—GREEN RUSSELL AND THE CHEROKEES—PROSPECTING THE TRIBUTARIES OF THE PLATTE—THE FOUNDING OF MONTANA, COLORADO CITY, AURARIA, BOULDER AND DENVER—STATE OF SOCIETY—FIRST MOVEMENT FOR POLITICAL ORGANIZATION—FOUNDING OF THE "ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS."

We are now advanced in the orderly arrangement of events to the second era, in which irregular trails were developed into broad and regular highways, the desert converted into blooming fields, the mountain sides and gulches, known hitherto only to the Indian and the trapper, forced to yield up their hidden treasure, and the wholesale reclamation of a vast wilderness was entered upon.

The panic of 1857 swept over the country like a tornado, uprooting, leveling and scattering the systems built upon State banks, reckless credits and mistaken theories of government, as applied to the law of trade. Our manufacturing industries just springing into vigorous life, fell in the common ruin. Innumerable depositories of public and private funds went down, taking with them the savings of the poor and the modest fortunes of the middle class. The millions of notes which ill-advised State laws permitted them to issue and distribute broadcast, instantly became waste paper. For the time being the boasted nerve, energy and power of the young Republic seemed paralyzed by the fearful crash and crumbling. The national treasury, well nigh empty, was powerless to check the force of the storm. Despair filled all hearts save those of the few who chanced to be well fortified against such disasters. There are always a few, who, though the heavens fall, rise sublimely

above the tumult, and calmly weather every tempest. But the bent and broken sat upon the wrecks of their homes and business, looking with moistened eyes upon the brief horizon of their prospects, appalled by the devastation all around them. Happily, however, such periods are of short duration. The crisis past, the worst that could happen made known, the spirit of American manhood reasserted itself and began anew. The work of rebuilding the prostrate fabrics had scarcely more than commenced, when there came from beyond the frontier glowing reports of another California at the base of the Rocky Mountains; that the streams and valleys and the granite hills were rich in gold, awaiting the open sesame of rightly applied effort to pour their glittering contents into the hands of the seekers, and fill them with marvelous abundance. The seductive tales gathered volume as they flew. In the more conservative East they made little impression, in other words they were not credited, but in the West, then less powerful than now, and where the shock of the panic had fallen even more heavily because its people were less prepared for it, the revelation was accepted, and the march began. Early in 1858 the vanguard came, followed by interminable processions in 1859 and '60. Shortly afterward the rumblings of an "irrepressible conflict" began to be heard from the national conventions in Charleston and Chicago, when thousands on the point of emigrating, paused to listen, and while listening, the war clouds broke over Sumter.

In such a period the Territory of Colorado was born. Let us follow the more important incidents which led to that memorable event. Though an oft told tale of the early fathers, succeeding generations may find some interest in the causes which produced such wondrous results.

While the testimony is brief, and perhaps not fully authenticated, it is nevertheless recorded among the annals of New Mexico that Don Juan de Oñate who explored a large part of the Southern mountains and subsequently ranged the valleys of the Arkansas and Platte, far to the eastward, while examining the San Luis Valley, discovered gold mines at a point somewhere between the Culebra and Trinchera. This was about 1595. He went there in search of mines, and with his fol-

lowers, had already located many deposits of the precious metals at various places on their journey northward, extending from Socorro on the south to the Picurias and Sandias to the north, including the Placiers, the Cerrillos and other sections, and so having acquired some knowledge of the formations which contained them, and the fact being clearly stated, we accept the reported discovery in the San Luis as being the first made within the limits of our State.

The next trace is found in the narrative of James Pursley to Lieutenant Pike, and embraced in that officer's account of the first American exploration to the sources of the Platte and Arkansas Rivers in 1806. The author is informed by William N. Byers, who traversed this country in 1852, on the authority of "Pike" Vasquez a trader, that the hunters and trappers occasionally brought small quantities of gold from the mountains to the trading post at the mouth of Clear Creek, at intervals between 1832 and 1836, but the relator, strange to say, neither inquired where they obtained it, nor manifested any special interest in the matter. Says Mr. Byers in addition, "There were rumors of gold having been found on the Sweetwater and in other localities as early as 1852, but they created no excitement and were given very little attention," for the reason, it may be assumed, that no great deposits had been unearthed.

In a sketch of Park County, written some years ago by R. S. Allen, it is stated that "Old Parson Bill Williams," in one of his trapping excursions in the South Park after returning from California, dug out a few samples.

Again, we are told that another trapper named Rufus B. Sage, made public the fact that while encamped upon the present site of Golden City in the winter of 1843-4, he struck out into the mountains toward the head of Vasquez Fork, and there found mineral which he believed to contain gold. Why so many of these professional tramps failed to achieve glory and riches when they had an opportunity to do so, is answered by the general statement, that they were searching for game, directing all their enterprises with an eye single to the capture of merchandise, while Gregory and Russell gave their undivided attention to

the higher subject, leaving the fur-bearing quadrupeds to pursue their way, unvexed by rifles and knives.

In the summer of 1888 the author made the acquaintance of Colonel William H. Paine, a noted civil engineer—attached in regular succession to the Headquarters Staff of every general commanding the Army of the Potomac from McDowell to Grant, and who is said to have supervised the construction of that marvel of modern engineering, the Brooklyn bridge, from the plans of the illustrious Roebling—who stated that while en route to California in 1853, a man named Captain Norton, at the head of quite a strong party overtook him and his associates on the North Platte near Laramie, saying he had been prospecting the Pike's Peak region, and had found some gold, which he exhibited. But the quantity was not large, only a few pennyweights, still sufficient to attest his veracity. Norton made no distinct location of the find, but embraced the country named, in general terms, as Pike's Peak.

Judge Wilbur F. Stone in his historical sketch of Pueblo County, alludes briefly to a report that the children of William Bent, while returning from Fort Bridger to Bent's Fort in 1848, found some nuggets of gold on Crow Creek.

A trapper named John Orlbert, years ago related that in 1851 while trapping near the old town site of Hamilton in the South Park, he and his party built the log cabins which excited so much inquiry concerning their origin in the minds of the hunters who took possession of that part of the country in 1859-60. Orlbert, more honest than some of his clansmen, laid no claim to having found anything more valuable than beaver skins.

We pass now from the vacuity of apocryphal statement to the dawn of historical narration which may be trusted, where the remainder of our investigations will be more profitably conducted. By following Mr. B. F. Rockafellow's admirable sketch of Fremont County, we discover the actual origin of the forces which led to the attraction of our own pioneers and their occupation of one of the richest mineral regions on the globe, as related by a venerable resident of Cañon City named



+ J. P. Mackelup
B. P. of Denver

Philander Simmons, who was a member of the party which visited that part of the Arkansas Valley now celebrated as the fruit garden of the Rocky Mountain region, with Bent's traders in 1842, and also of Green Russell's expedition which came in 1858.

In the spring of 1849, about the initial period of the great emigration to California, a small band of Cherokee Indians went to the Pacific Coast by the Arkansas route, over the old trail by the Squirrel Creek divide, and the head of Cherry Creek. They had lived in Georgia and were familiar with the always fascinating pursuit of mining—when it pays. Bringing their shovels, picks and pans, they halted from time to time and prospected the streams, in many of which they found gold, but not in sufficient quantity to divert them from the main purpose of the trip. They passed down the Platte, and thence across the country by the emigrant roads to California, but failing to locate themselves satisfactorily, and by this time firmly convinced that equally good mines existed in the Rocky Mountains, they returned home, and in 1858 organized an expedition to prospect them extensively and thoroughly. Information of this design was communicated to some of their friends in Georgia with a request to join them. In this manner news of their intention reached Green Russell, who, eager for the enterprise, wrote the projectors asking permission to go with them at the head of a party of Americans. Assent was readily obtained and Russell's company, equipped with the requisite appliances for gold mining and washing, overtook the Cherokees forty miles west of the Pawnee Forks. Meanwhile, Mr. Simmons was engaged in lead mining in Southwest Missouri, and having had some experience on the plains and in the mountains, and being also cognizant of the proposed expedition, sought and obtained permission to join it. Thus organized, the company reached Bent's Fort, whence they proceeded to the Fountaine-qui-bouille, and from there to the Squirrel Creek pineries, where the Cherokees had found gold on their previous journey. Having inspected this region without satisfactory results they came down to Cherry Creek where it was expected they would find extensive placers, but were again disappointed. Says Simmons,—“Having no faith in the

mines, I went on a hunt and on my return found them discouraged, and in a few days we started for the Platte River where we arrived in two days' travel. Cherry Creek we crossed a little below where Blake street is now located, camping that night in a large grove of cottonwoods. Hunting being good, the Indians killed several deer where the town (Denver) is now built, and some of the Indians remarked that 'there'—pointing to the present town site,—was a splendid location for a city, and that there would probably be a town built there in the course of a hundred years." It was pretty well started in less than six months from the date of this prophecy.

At a point thirty miles north of the Platte they prospected again, prolonging their examinations to the Cache la Poudre, but without success. Here some of Russell's party became disheartened at the repeated failures, and soon afterward returned to Georgia. But the greater number remained, searched the streams and dry channels through the season, "keeping up the excitement by reporting great discoveries and big strikes which in reality were never made."*

Here we have, in condensed form, what appears to be a well authenticated statement of the origin of practical, systematic gold hunting in this part of our country, and while it differs but little in the main from the many other accounts published, there is a material difference in the details.

It is also a matter of record, that in April, 1858, a party of traders under a leader named Cantrill while returning to the Missouri River from a trip to Utah, discovered gold near the base of the mountains on Ralston Creek.

While these events were occurring, reports more or less highly colored reached the border towns of Kansas, Iowa and Missouri, and as anticipated, caused much excitement. From the date of the appearance of Russell and the Cherokees upon the scene, though the slopes were

*Russell returned to Georgia in the fall, meeting *en route* hither a large party from Plattsmouth, among them D. C. Oakes, A. H. Barker and Joseph Harper. He came out again in the spring of 1859, with 170 followers.

covered with snow, there was no cessation of prospecting. Confident, strong and hardy, these people never doubted the ultimate issue, notwithstanding their disappointments. It was as clear to them as the morning sun that the yellow metal contained in the streams had its source in some great deposit or series of veins in the higher altitudes. Hundreds of immigrants were arriving from all quarters, the greater part encamping on Cherry Creek. Some of the more enterprising overran the neighborhood, turning up the sands and gravels; others drifted into the mountains above Boulder, where promising indications were found. But the snow prevented intelligent examination, so they met with only meager results until later in the spring.

By this time the principal rendezvous became a fixed abiding place and base of supplies. It passed from a camp to a town with surprising rapidity, in spite of the rather unpromising outlook. While there are several claims to precedence in the building of habitations, it is pretty well established that the first dwelling erected on Cherry Creek was the work of an old trapper named John Smith in the fall of 1857, and used as a trading post. The second may be credited to a member of Russell's party who built early in 1858. The universal instinct for social and civil order found its earliest expression however, in the organization of a town at a mining camp on the Platte about six miles above Cherry Creek, which the founders called "Montana," and this was the first ever built in this region of country. In this, Jason Yunker and others of the original Lawrence party, with certain of the Georgians, took an active part. About twenty log cabins were erected, but the fledgling survived only a single winter. It was abandoned in the spring of 1859, when the leaders came down to the original seat and started the town of Auraria, on the west side.

Since this history was begun, the author received a communication from a man named Philip Schweikert, a resident of Columbus, Ohio, stating that Montana was the first settlement located here, he being one of the founders. Schweikert was a barber, and indirectly appeals for the historical distinction of having been the "only original" tonso-

rial artist in the Pike's Peak region. We take pleasure in elevating this important fact to the scroll of fame. He concludes by saying he sold his house and lot for three dollars and went to Mexico.

The tract upon which the Georgia company did the greater part of their mining was subsequently taken up as a ranch by Jim Beckwourth, the mulatto mountaineer, ex-chief of the Crows, etc., and is now held conjointly by the A. B. Daniels estate, Mrs. Mary H. Mechlin, Rufus Clark, George Tritch and William N. Byers.

Simultaneously with the events recorded above, a small army of prospectors from Lawrence, Kansas, following the Arkansas River from Dodge City, arrived in the valley of the Fontaine-qui-bouille and there commenced operations. Referring to this particular migration, Mr. A. Z. Sheldon, the historian of El Paso county, relates a number of interesting incidents, whereby it appears that a man named George Earle, who had been in California, returned to Lawrence and related his experiences in the mining regions of the Pacific slope. Between the alluring tales of late discoveries in the Sierra Nevadas and the Rocky Mountains, the prevailing hard times and the universal desire to strike out somewhere, with the idea that fortunes might be made without serious effort, the people of every struggling community in the West were eager for an opportunity, or even a reasonable excuse to emigrate. In the course of frequent allusions to the subject, Earle expressed the opinion that gold could be washed from any of the water courses heading in the western mountains, even from the banks of the Kaw River. Being put to the test, he took a pan, gathered some dirt, reduced it by the usual process, and lo! several small "colors" appeared. This was deemed proof conclusive, and the feeling of unrest deepened. Reports of the discoveries made by the Cherokees began to arrive. Therefore, in the spring of 1858 an exploring party was formed under the leadership of one John Turney. They reached the spot on which the beautiful town of Colorado Springs now stands in æsthetic pride, in July following. By persistent digging and panning they found evidence sufficient to justify a permanent settlement and

more extended investigations of the neighboring hillsides, hence the location of a town site which was named "Colorado City." Though not very large, and never very prominent until about the year 1888, it attained the exalted dignity of being for a single season the capital of the Territory.

Meanwhile digging, "rocking" and sluicing continued, but only moderate prospects were found. In the autumn some of the inhabitants returned to Lawrence for supplies and reinforcements, and while there, improved the occasion by extolling the beauty of the country, the richness of the mines, the fertility of the soil, and the vast mineral wealth everywhere distributed. Their purpose was quickly accomplished. In 1859 multitudes flocked to the scene, among them several who became historic characters, for example, Richard E. Whitsitt, W. P. McClure, Lewis N. Tappan, M. S. Beach, S. W. Waggoner, and others.

Recurring to the original encampment and the first series of gold hunters who pushed their examinations in the hills above Boulder, we find the names of Judge Townsley of Iowa City; B. F. Langley, of California, A. Vennage and J. Ely, of Iowa; H. Bolton, A. Becker, D. McCown and J. W. Wainwright, of St. Louis, with forty or fifty others. Amos Bixby, the historian of Boulder County, relates that gold was discovered in the district of Gold Run on the 16th of January, 1859, by a party composed of Charles Clauser, J. S. Bull, William Huey, W. W. Jones, James Aikins and David Wooley. Still the clutch of winter was upon the ground, the streams frozen, and the face of nature wrapped in snow. Energetic and persevering as these men undoubtedly were, they could do little beyond satisfying themselves that here was a region in which their best efforts might be profitably expended in a more favorable season.

After Montana, the town of Auraria was founded, and after Auraria, St. Charles, the latter on the east bank of Cherry Creek. A. H. Barker is said to have erected the first cabin in Auraria, after those of Smith and the Georgians, and John J. Riethmann claims to

have been the original builder in East Denver. The chroniclers of the period, however, affirm that General William Larimer was clearly entitled to the honor of having built the first house on the east side, and that his dwelling was established on the bank of the creek between Blake and Wazee streets before any other person had ventured so far as to take up a residence in the new town. In November, 1858, Richard E. Whitsitt, General Larimer and others organized the Denver Town Company. The name of St. Charles was displaced by that of Denver, in compliment to the then executive head of Kansas Territory, in its results one of the proudest monuments ever erected to any man on the American continent. Yet though still living, he has honored it with but a single visit, and that many years ago.

Auraria had become strong and confident by the steady increment of population. The town company of one hundred members surveyed the site and took in about twelve hundred acres, whereby it is apparent these stalwart fathers proposed not only to do something handsome for themselves, but provide generously for their posterity. In less than thirty years the entire space has been covered with buildings, and the town extended over an area much greater to the southward. The founders have lived to find that their anticipations were none too large, though at the time they were simply tremendous.

The first house erected after the survey was owned by Ross Hutchins, who located on Ferry Street. It was built of cottonwood logs with a dirt roof, which, like many others, kept out the sunshine and let in the rain for days after the storm was over. During the fall and winter of 1858 about one hundred and twenty-five houses were built. In due course several grocery and provision stores were established, the first by Blake & Williams. Then came John Kinna and John A. Nye with a stock of hardware, stoves, etc., than which nothing was more needed. Uncle Dick Wootton of blessed memory brought his family and a large stock of miscellaneous supplies. Thus the infant colony grew and flourished, notwithstanding the rather discouraging prospect for a great mining region.

Denver advanced more slowly. It was chiefly a city of tents and magnificent expectations. The first child born in the latter city was a son to the Indian wife of William McGaa, alias "Jack Jones," one of the old frontiersmen who came long anterior to the great procession. According to his own story, related when drunk—for he was seldom sober—McGaa was educated for the priesthood in the city of Dublin, but ran away to New York, and in the course of time made his way out to the plains, where he joined the Arapahoes and married into the tribe. Though of good family and undoubtedly well educated, he grew to be a notorious liar and vagabond, without a redeeming trait save his unquenchable good nature. His squaw was a rather comely woman, of amiable disposition and engaging manners, for an Indian, and thoroughly devoted to her husband. McGaa died some years afterward in the county jail, of excessive intemperance.

On the 28th of March, 1859, an election for county officers, justices of the peace and minor places was held. But as the supreme authority was supposed to lie in the Territory of Kansas, and the seat of power nearly six hundred miles from Cherry Creek, it was decided to install the officers elect, set the machinery of civil order in motion at once without waiting for consent or orders, and it was done. Many lawless characters had drifted in with the tide, men who carried from one to three revolvers in their belts, bowie knives in their bootlegs, and rejoiced in being denominated "holy terrors." It was not long after the opening of a number of saloons where a villainous compound labeled "pure Kentucky whisky," was dispensed at fifty cents a glass, that these desperadoes conceived the idea that they ought to and would run the town. But they were mistaken. Up to this time, there being neither social nor legal restraints, every man was a law unto himself, settling his quarrels if he had any, in his own way, usually by force of arms. In such a state of society absolute liberty quickly degenerated into unrestrained license. Duels, murders and robberies were of frequent occurrence, hence there was work for the newly

elected guardians of the law, which soon put their courage to the crucial test. But of this hereafter.

Messrs. Cooper & Wyatt having established a sawmill in the Cherry Creek pineries, on the 21st of April two memorable events occurred—the first load of lumber arrived in town, and simultaneously William N. Byers and Thomas Gibson, with a wagon train bearing a printing press and material for a newspaper. The city of log cabins was soon supplanted by one of neat frame dwellings and business houses. On the 23d the initial number of the Rocky Mountain “News” appeared, and thus a new and powerful factor in shaping the destiny of the great West was introduced. On the same day, perhaps a few hours earlier, was issued the first and only number of the Cherry Creek “Pioneer” by John L. Merrick. The “News” at once became the champion of the country, collating and publishing correct intelligence from the mines already discovered, and conveying comprehensive views of the entire situation. Its editorials evinced the spirit of men who realized that they had undertaken a great mission, and were prepared to execute it. Mr. Byers made personal visits to the various camps and collected trustworthy information concerning them, besides taking notes of the general surroundings. With a well conducted journal to support them, the better elements were immediately elevated to higher planes of thought and action. There were no mails, no newspapers from the homes they had left, and many of them had had no communication with the States since their emigration.

On the 11th of April a convention was held to consider the expediency of organizing a State government. General William Larimer presided, and Henry McCoy was chosen Secretary. In proclaiming their reasons for this extraordinary movement, it was declared, among other things, that the country was “rich in gold, timber, rock and *crystal water*; a country with a soil capable of producing food for its inhabitants, if not equal to the richest Western agricultural States, at least superior” (mark the arrogance) “to those of New England.” After duly considering the scheme a convention was called to meet on the first

Monday in June, 1859, for the purpose of framing a constitution, and to provide for the election of State officers, members of the Legislature, Senators and representatives in Congress. Note the dashing boldness of these resolute pioneers. Here was a convention representing less than two thousand people, less than half of them fixed residents, before any great mines had been opened, or even discovered; before the capabilities of the soil were known; before an acre of land had been planted, and whilst every soul was in doubt whether or not there ever would be a basis for support of even a small population, taking measures without precedent, without authority of law, and without the slightest prospect of ratification, for the creation of an independent commonwealth. Yet with marvelous effrontery the well dressed "tenderfoot" of to-day condescends to tolerate the remnant that is left if he can only be permitted to designate them as "barnacles," and thus in effect put them under his feet. They were going to elect Senators, and as many Representatives as they felt themselves entitled to, and have them admitted to the National councils forthwith. We shall discover as we proceed, the fate of this movement, and in the succeeding chapter the light of a wonderful revelation which dispelled all doubts, lifted the mists of uncertainty, and laid broad and deep the foundations of an enduring prosperity.

In October, 1858, the town of Boulder was founded. During the same year a party of four from St. Louis laid out the town of Fountain City near the present site of Pueblo. The buildings were all of adobe, the walls of the old trading post being utilized as far as they would go in their construction.

CHAPTER XIII.

1858-9—PROGRESS OF MINING ON THE PLAINS—STEADY INCREMENT OF POPULATION—GEORGE A. JACKSON'S DISCOVERY ON CHICAGO CREEK—EXPLORATIONS OF THE VALLEY—JOHN H. GREGORY'S GREAT FIND ON THE NORTH FORK OF VASQUEZ RIVER—D. K. WALL'S EXPERIMENTS IN AGRICULTURE—VISIT OF HORACE GREELEY—FRUITS OF THE FIRST SEASON'S WORK—DISCOVERY OF RUSSELL'S GULCH—A. D. GAMBELL'S NARRATIVE—GOLD IN BOULDER AND THE SOUTH PARK—STAMP MILLS—NEWSPAPERS—MINING LAWS.

We have been tracing hitherto the movements of the advanced skirmish line, so to speak, in its unsatisfactory but not altogether ineffectual attempts to capture the golden citadel. After more than a year of unremitting effort, it had become a self-evident proposition that it was not upon the plains, but near the head waters of the streams that traverse them. From about the beginning of 1858 to May, 1859, the plains were thoroughly examined, but without much encouragement. The promise of gold mining, though shadowy, was even more stable than the prospect for agriculture. The soil was uninviting except in narrow strips along the water courses, the climate dry and apparently unfavorable to the growth of crops. Other industries were wholly out of the question. Such was the aspect of affairs in the primitive stage, and all agreed that there was little enough to inspire the hope of a permanent lodgment. Besides the rather lean diggings at Arapahoe, just east of Golden, a few choice spots on Dry Creek, the Deadwood placers near Boulder, and a claim or two on Ralston, there was nothing. Meanwhile emigrants, attracted by the florid reports sent abroad, came in endless processions by the Platte, Smoky Hill and Arkansas routes. The prevailing thought

resolved itself into the universal inquiry, "Where are your gold mines?" They came for gold, and nothing else. When the facts appeared, hundreds became disheartened, and, without pausing to investigate for themselves, accepted the unflattering accounts given them and turned back upon the long, dreary trail, empty-handed but wiser. Every man of course had preconceived a different situation, expecting, in short, to find gold mines ready made into which he could step and at once begin to shovel out nuggets and dust. The illusion dispelled by the necessity which confronted him at the very threshold of applying himself to hard work, with perhaps one chance in a thousand of success, appalled him, and he fled. Only the brave deserved or inherited the magnificent legacy which awaited them. The later arrivals who came in palace cars, after the war, when the planting was done and the harvest ripened, can have but a faint conception of the nerve requisite to meet the conditions of the period under consideration. We are accustomed to idealize and load with panegyric the chiefs who led our armies to victory and brought new glory to the nation; great men of letters; builders of grand institutions; our distinguished scholars and statesmen, and to forget the equally deserving heroes who founded the States of the West upon fields reclaimed from savagery and rendered fruitful by their labor. It seems to me that some small tribute of respect, if not homage, is due to the men and women who made possible the splendid triumphs now before us. By the hardships they endured and the sacrifices they made; by the toil and suffering which embittered their lives, and by the unfaltering bravery with which they met and overcame the obstacles in their way, they are entitled to this recognition, and this small measure of appreciation. They are passing away as the snows melt from the mountain sides. Of the once powerful contingent only a remnant remains.

The original discoverer of gold bearing placers in the Rocky Mountains, as also the first to open the same, was George A. Jackson, a native of Glasgow, Missouri. As this constitutes the initial chapter of the series now to be related, it will be interesting to accompany this

pioneer from the starting point to the finish. The incidents were taken from his diary, supplemented by a personal interview in which further material points were elicited by the author, but never before given to the public in this form.

Mr. Jackson left the mines of California in 1857, returning to his home in Missouri. In the spring of 1858 he came to the "Pike's Peak region," rather more with the view of hunting and trapping than searching for gold. Arriving at Cherry Creek, he encamped at John Smith's trading post on the west side, the original base of Auraria. Having brought some Indian goods he sold them, and then proceeded to the Cache la Poudre, where, with Antoine Janiss, an old trapper, he prospected for gold and founded a trading post, which was called "Laporte." In August some prospecting was done about the St. Vrain and Vasquez Forks. Later, in company with Tom Golden and Jim Sanders, winter quarters were established at the base of the mountains, upon the site now occupied by the town of Golden, so designated for his companion of that name, and not, as many have conjectured, from its being the entrepot of the gold regions. From this point excursions were made to Lupton's Fork (now Bear Creek), and to the Boulder. During the winter, with a comrade who bore the aboriginal sobriquet of "Black Hawk," he passed into the mountains via Mount Vernon Cañon, toward the head of Vasquez Fork. Arrived in what is now known as Bergen Park, they discovered a large herd of elk which they pursued to the brink of a precipice (Jackson's Hill), at the foot of which they saw Vasquez River, frozen solid. The next day Jackson started out alone, resolved to explore the valley. Descending to the level of the stream, he followed its course to Grass Valley. As he advanced he observed a dense bluish mist arising from one of the cañons, and suspecting it to be from an encampment of Ute Indians, he climbed the mountain side (Soda Hill), floundering through snow waist deep to the brink overlooking Soda Creek, and peering cautiously over to ascertain the origin of the mysterious smoke, found it to be a thick vapor mounting from the hot spring located there, which in later

years made Idaho a famous summer resort. Hundreds of mountain sheep had gathered about the place, not only to drink the waters of the cold spring adjoining, but to graze upon the herbage from which the warm vapors had melted the snow.

Prospecting in this vicinity affording little satisfaction, he advanced to the stream afterward named Chicago Creek, and shortly above its confluence with Vasquez Fork, built a rousing fire of logs and brush, which thawed the ground and enabled him to dig with a hunting knife, the only implement he possessed for the purpose. As a rude substitute for a gold pan, he used a large tin cup. After digging and washing for some time he found himself the fortunate owner of nine dollars in gold dust. Convinced that he had made an important discovery, the spot was so marked as to be readily identified, and he returned to Golden, after an absence of two weeks. This discovery occurred on the 7th of January, 1859.

Having secured the requisite supplies and tools for mining, but awaiting the subsidence of the heavy snow from the gulches, on the 17th of April, accompanied by twenty-two men, chiefly from Chicago—whence the name of the stream—with teams and wagons, the men cutting the roadway in advance, they returned to the spot which Jackson had located in January. In many places it was found impossible to proceed with the wagons, hence they were unloaded, taken to pieces, and packed by the men over the obstruction, when they were put together again, reloaded, and the journey resumed, until it became necessary to repeat the laborious process. After a long, and what in these days would be regarded as a fearful experience, the Dorado of their hopes was reached, about the first of May, and the work of mining begun in earnest. Having no lumber, the wagon boxes were converted into sluices.

The proceeds of the first seven days' work netted them nineteen hundred dollars. Jackson brought the gold to Auraria, then quite a brisk settlement, and turned it over to Henry Allen, at the same time suggesting that it be used in buying up the provisions of disgusted immigrants and prospectors who were about to return to the States.

By paying for the goods in dust it soon became known that a great "find" had been made, hence Jackson's movements were closely watched. He was followed constantly, and importuned to reveal his secret, which he finally consented to do.

Prior to entering upon the second trip to the Chicago diggings, he met John Gregory to whom he related his discovery on Vasquez Fork, in the early part of the year. Gregory agreed to join him there, and as Jackson relates the incident, it was while attempting to reach the point designated, that Gregory, mistaking the direction, followed the north branch instead of the south, and was thus led, providentially perhaps, to his great discovery and his fortune, as hereinafter set forth.

Jackson sold his interest in the Chicago Creek claims and returned to Golden, when he discovered that his old comrades had staked out a town site, which afterward became a formidable rival to Denver. In the spring of 1860 he went to California Gulch, and in 1861 returned to Missouri, and joined the Confederate army, taking command of the Arizona Sharpshooters. After the war he revisited Colorado, and is now a resident of Ouray County.

On the 13th of May, William N. Byers, Richard Sopris, William M. Slaughter and Henry Allen, with six or eight others, left Denver for Jackson's Bar, arriving there on the 14th. On the 15th, having secured a claim, they set up a "long tom" which they had taken with them, and began sluicing. Only indifferent results were obtained. On the 16th, Byers and Allen explored the valley of Vasquez Fork to the junction of its two sources which rise in the mountains above the present town of Empire and Georgetown respectively. The entire face of Douglas Mountain was examined, and evidences of lodes observed. In all probability these were the first white men to penetrate this region. On the 17th, en route to the point of departure, they found Andrew Sagen-dorf and O. E. Lehow staking off claims on Spanish Bar, and each took a claim adjoining theirs. On the 18th Mr. Byers and Ransford Smith, an old California miner, prospected the mountain sides north of the creek between Idaho and Fall River, discovering a number of

quartz veins, some of which have since been quite extensively opened. Returning to Jackson's Bar they received, by way of Denver, the news of Gregory's great discovery, on North Vasquez, which created a general stampede to that locality. The crowd made a wild, indiscriminate rush over the hills, through Virginia Cañon, each indifferent to his neighbors or comrades in his desperate endeavors to reach the coveted spot in advance of all competitors. Mounting the summit of the divide some took the wrong direction, following Russell's Gulch down to its junction with Clear Creek; others took the direct route down by Missouri Flats, Spring and Gregory Gulches, to the place indicated. Then ensued a frenzied search for claims, the examination of Gregory's find, which amazed all beholders, and the formation of a camp.

John H. Gregory left Georgia in 1858, and went to Fort Laramie as the driver of a government team, with the intention of joining the excited column then moving to Frazier River from California. He wintered at the post, doing duty as a common laborer. In the winter of 1858-9, he learned that gold had been found along the South Platte, and immediately changing his plans, came over on a general prospecting tour, and in the next few months had examined all the more favorable localities between the Cache la Poudre and Pike's Peak, tracing some of the streams to their sources. "At length," we follow Hollister's description,—“he arrived at the Vasquez Fork of the South Platte which he followed up alone, his plan being to prospect thoroughly wherever the creek forked, and to follow the branch which gave most promise. In this way he toiled up the cañon, perhaps the first white man who had ever invaded its solitude, to the main forks of the creek, fourteen miles above Golden City; then up the north branch to the gulch that bears his name, seven miles, beyond which he could obtain nothing of consequence. Here he left the creek and took up the gulch. Where the little ravine, immediately southeast of the Gregory Lode, comes in, he again prospected, and finding it the richer of the two, he turned aside into it; but as he approached its head the ‘color’ grew less, and finally entirely failed. Gregory now felt certain that he

had found the gold. But before he could satisfy himself a heavy snow-storm occurred, during which he nearly perished. Upon its clearing up, he was obliged to return to the valley for provisions, and leave his discovery unperfected."

A considerable encampment existed among the foothills about Golden City. Here Gregory fell in with David K. Wall, an experienced Californian (now and for nearly thirty years one of the strong business men of Denver, whose career as associated with the later development of the country will be outlined hereafter), who, after listening to his story, supplied him with provisions for a second expedition. We digress for a moment to state that Mr. Wall was undoubtedly the originator of garden farming in this region by the systematic plan of irrigation, his knowledge having been acquired on the Pacific slope. In the spring of 1859 he planted two acres in the bottomland, near the present depot of the Colorado Central Railway at Golden, realizing about \$2,000 from the sale of its products. A year later he seeded seven or eight acres, which netted him \$1,000 per acre.

Amplly fortified for his journey, Gregory persuaded Wilkes Defrees, of South Bend, Indiana, and William Ziegler, of Missouri, to accompany him. They arrived at Gregory Gulch on the 6th of May, 1859. Ice and snow covered the ground, but they began digging. Again we quote :* " He was confident he had found the identical spot where the gold lay, and climbing the hill about where the wash would naturally come from, he scraped away the grass and leaves, and filled his gold pan with dirt. Upon panning it down his wildest anticipations were more than realized. There was four dollars' worth of gold in it ! He dropped the pan, and immediately summoned the gods of the Egyptians, Greeks, Indians, Persians, and even, it is said, of the Hebrews and Christians, to witness his astounding triumph. That night he did not close his eyes. Defrees dropped asleep about three o'clock in the morning and left him talking ; Defrees awoke at daybreak, and

* Hollister's Mines of Colorado.



James M. Carey
4

he was still talking. They washed out forty pans of dirt and obtained forty dollars. Then they returned to the valley to get their friends."

Assuming the glowing account to be wholly true, which it is not, is it surprising that he should have been transported to the seventh heaven of joy? From the drudgery of common labor, from a life of unremitting toil, hardship and poverty, he saw before him visions of a princely fortune, an endless supply of shining metal. Stronger and wiser heads than his have been turned by such sudden awakenings, and it is difficult to conceive a temperament so stolid as to be utterly indifferent to the marvelous revelation here portrayed. Many accounts of Gregory's discovery have been published, but the following, related by Mr. Wilkes Defrees to Mr. Byers, and by him to the author, is undoubtedly the correct one.

Having been supplied by Mr. Wall with provisions and suitable implements for systematic mining, and guided by experience, having reached the spot to be prospected, he requested Defrees to dig first at a point in the main gulch near the southeast corner of the present Briggs mill building. As the dirt was thrown out Gregory examined it critically, and then panned it, obtaining fair but unsatisfactory prospects. The character of the gold indicated to him that it must have originated further up the slope. So they abandoned the gulch and passed up the little ravine which intersects it from the southeast, and after examining the ground he said to Defrees, "Dig there, for it looks well." Fragments of "blossom rock," or surface quartz, dislodged from the lode by elemental erosion, were scattered over the ground. After digging for a time, Gregory observed that the dirt looked extremely promising. Defrees filled the pan, when Gregory took it down to the little ravine and panned it, obtaining nearly or quite half an ounce of gold. The effect was simply astounding, and if he did not invoke the gods of the Hebrews, Egyptians and Persians, as related by Hollister, there was ample reason for such indulgence in the vision that dazzled his eyes. After further panning and more intelligent examination, the course and extent of the vein was defined, when each staked off claims

upon it, Gregory taking two by right of discovery. Though the find occurred on the 10th, it was not until the 16th that sluices were prepared and orderly work begun.

On the 19th of May, Mr. Byers having arrived from the Jackson diggings, called on Gregory, introduced himself, and elicited some important facts. The hero of the time sat upon a log with his head between his hands deeply ruminating, breaking forth occasionally with incoherent mutterings relating to the facts about him. He had scooped out a place for a lodging in the hillside and built a rude brush house over it. He seemed completely dazed by his good fortune, his mind apparently unsettled, and occupied with dreams of the future; talked of his wife and children, and the changed destiny awaiting them. "My wife will be a lady, and my children will be educated," he said. Paying but little attention to his visitor at first, he softened and became communicative as the conversation proceeded, and gave Mr. Byers a very full account of his progress. Reaching out into an adjacent thicket, where lay his frying pan reversed, he raised it and thereby uncovered three large masses of solid gold which had been gathered from the sluices and rudely "retorted" or fused in his camp fire, the result of three days' work, the whole amounting to about one thousand dollars. He had ceased operations, under the strong apprehension that he would be robbed if it became known that he had a large amount of treasure. In his great anxiety he slept but little. On the date mentioned there were only seventeen men in the gulch. The following day there were at least one hundred and fifty, mainly from Jackson's Bar, and thenceforward, as the reports spread, there was a continued inpouring of people.

On the 24th of June Mr. Byers, accompanied by Wilkes Deirees, left Denver with a fast team and a light wagon for Omaha, taking with them the gold extracted by Gregory and others, amounting to something over four thousand dollars. Fearing robbery, they traveled day and night, securing fresh horses en route, and reached their destination in twelve days. Byers exhibited the gold in his office in that city,

which created much excitement. Crowds gathered to see it, but many openly declared it to be a fraud; there was no gold in the Pike's Peak region; hundreds had returned pronouncing it a swindle, and this was spurious, manufactured expressly to excite emigration, etc. A public meeting was held which Byers addressed, relating all the circumstances of the various discoveries and declaring his unbounded confidence in the great richness of the country, which produced its effect, and brought large accessions from that section.

It is the common belief of those who are familiar with the general details of this memorable event, that Gregory found his gold in the gulch below the main thoroughfare between Black Hawk and Central, but the strike really occurred on the hillside at Claim Number Five of the Gregory lode, four hundred feet above the road. The discoverer's narrative, as related to Horace Greeley, who came out in June, was substantially as follows: "Encouraged by this success, we all staked out claims, and found the 'lead' (lode) consisting of burnt quartz, resembling the Georgia mines in which I had previously worked. Snow and ice prevented the regular working of the 'lead' till May 16th. From then until the 23d I worked it three days with two hands and cleaned up \$972. Soon afterward I sold my two claims for \$21,000, the parties buying to pay me, after deducting their expenses, all they made from the claims to the amount of \$500 per week until the whole was paid." Later he engaged to prospect for others at the rate of two hundred dollars per diem—probably the most munificent salary drawn by any person in the United States in that period, and one which permitted the employe, if so inclined, to indulge in some slight extravagances.

While thus engaged he struck another lode, the extension of the original, on the southeasterly side of the Gulch which took and retained for some years, the title of "Gregory Second." Again we have recourse to Greeley's account: "Some forty or fifty sluices commenced are not yet in operation, but the owners inform us that their prospecting shows from ten cents to five dollars to the pan. As the lodes are all found in the hills, many of the miners are constructing trenches to carry water

to them instead of building their sluices in the ravine and carrying the dirt thither in wagons or sacks." It seems that the veteran journalist observed even the minor details of the work going on about him, and, accustomed to keen analysis of every subject worthy of attention, saw here an inexcusable waste of labor from the lack of systematic arrangement, in other words, a waste of power. Again, he discovered that "many persons who have come here, without provisions or money, are compelled to work as common laborers, at from one dollar to three dollars per day and board." It is an historical fact to be noted in passing, that wages were lower in the two years following these remarkable discoveries than they have been at any subsequent period. Great numbers of strong men labored in the mines in that epoch, ten hours a day for four and six dollars per week and subsistence of the commonest variety,—chiefly bread, beans and bacon, and coarse black coffee without milk or sugar—and grew fat upon it. The number of mines being insufficient for the multitude, the many worked for the more fortunate few. Says Greeley, "Others not finding gold the third day, or disliking the work necessary to obtaining it, leave the mines in disgust, declaring there is no gold here in paying quantities." These were simply pretexts employed by the weak and vacillating to excuse their rather cowardly retreat. No maledictions were so loud and bitter as those of the "Go Backs." This was no paradise for any man who paled before difficulties. We shall see in due course how some of them proposed to institute the communistic plan of "subtraction, division and silence," and the result.

No observer comprehended the situation more thoroughly than Horace Greeley. He discovered at a glance that "gold mining is a business which eminently requires of its votaries, capital, experience, energy and endurance, and in which the higher qualities do not always command success. There are said to be 5,000 people already in this ravine, and hundreds pouring into it daily. Tens of thousands more have been passed by us on our rapid journey to this place, or heard of as on their way hither by other routes. For all these nearly every

pound of provisions and supplies of every kind must be hauled by teams from the Missouri River some seven hundred miles distant, over roads which are mere trails, crossing countless unbridged water courses, always steep banked and often miry, and at times so swollen by rains as to be utterly impassable by wagons. Part of the distance is a desert yielding grass, wood and water only at intervals of several miles, and then very scantily. To attempt to cross this desert on foot is madness—suicide—murder.” Nevertheless, thousands did cross it in that manner, the writer among them; indeed, most of the immigrants came on foot, for they could neither afford the expense, nor endure the luxury (?) of a seat in the coaches of the time. One more quotation from the venerable Horace, and we are done: “A few months hence, probably by the middle of October—this whole Alpine region will be snowed under and frozen up so as to put a stop to the working of sluices if not to mining altogether. There, then, for a period of at least six months, will be neither employment, food nor shelter within five hundred miles for the thousands pressing hither under the delusion that gold may be picked up like pebbles on the seashore, and that when they arrive here, even though without provisions or money, their fortunes are made. Great disappointment, great suffering are inevitable.”

But strange to relate, none of the calamities occurred which were thus rather gloomily foreshadowed. There was little or no actual destitution. Those who had, generously shared with those who had not, and all having become inured to exposure and privation, they managed to subsist on what was offered. Hundreds without claims or employment, frightened by the reports of “old mountaineers” like Jack Jones and Jim Beckwourth, who rarely told the truth if it could be evaded, who predicted that the snows would fill up the gulches even with the mountain tops, fled to Cherry Creek and wintered there, or went back to the States. Others decided to remain and take the chances. Cabins were built and mining operations prosecuted through the winter, which proved exceedingly mild and pleasant, with but little snow. Most of them keenly enjoyed, as we have heard them relate, the new and novel

experience. Such as were full handed, deriving revenue from their claims, were content; the less fortunate worked for them with the hope, constantly alight, of striking a rich lode or placer in the spring. Nearly all were young men, full of virile strength and sustained by lively imaginings of cherished dreams fulfilled; there were college graduates, sons of wealthy families reared in luxury, the educated and the ignorant, the rich and poverty stricken uniting in one common brotherhood reduced to a common level, each firmly resolved never to go back home till he had "made his pile."

From Hollister we extract the following epitome of fruits gathered the first season: "It was not unusual for four or five men to wash out from the Gregory, Bates, Bobtail, Mammoth, Hunter and many other lodes then newly discovered, one hundred and fifty dollars a day for weeks together. Single pans of dirt could be taken up carefully from any of a dozen lodes, that would yield five dollars. Ziegler, Spain & Co. ran a sluice three weeks on the Gregory and cleaned up 3,000 pennyweights; Sopris, Henderson & Co. took out \$607 in four days; Shears & Co., two days, \$853, all taken from within three feet of the surface. Brown & Co., one and a half days, \$260; John H. Gregory three days, \$972; Casto, Kendall & Co., one day, \$225; S. G. Jones & Co., two days, \$450; Bates & Co., one and a half days, \$135; Coleman, King & Co., one-half day, \$75; Defrees & Co., twelve days with one sluice, \$2,080. In one day Leper, Gridley & Co. obtained \$1,009 from three sluices. One sluice washed out in one day \$510. Foote & Simmons realized \$300 in three days. The Illinois Company obtained \$175 in their first day's sluicing from the Brown lode in Russell district. Walden & Co. took in one day from a lode in the same district, \$125. John Pogue took \$500 from a lode in the same district in three days. Three men took from the Kansas lode in two days, \$500. Kehler, Patton & Fletcher averaged with five hands on the Bates lode, \$100 a day for two months. Day & Crane on the same lode with seven or eight hands, sluiced for ten weeks, their smallest weekly run being \$180, their largest \$357. J. C. Ross & Co. with four hands, averaged \$100

a day on the Fisk lode for four months. F. M. Cobb & Co. on the Bobtail lode with four men, averaged from \$75 to \$100 a day for two months. Heffner, McLain & Cooper worked four men at a sluice on the Clay County lode, averaging \$100 a day for ten weeks. Shoog & Co. averaged \$100 a day for three months sluicing with five men on the Maryland lode."

Such is the well authenticated record of a portion only of the initial season, and it is transferred to these pages that it may be carried through the life of this history for use when the original shall have disappeared. It is the beginning of all things fixed and permanent which exists here to-day. It established and fortified the institutions since created. It gave a substantial basis for the population then on the ground, and for hundreds of thousands who followed. It was one of the marked events of the century, the opening chapter of our chronicles. Here in Gregory Gulch was the cradle of our State, and from it were evolved its leading statesmen.

And here it may be well to inscribe the fact that the original discoveries have maintained their importance as producers, through every stage of progress. The principal mines of 1859 are the largest producers of 1888, and being true fissure veins, will endure so long as it shall be possible to operate them.

About the first of June, Green Russell's new company from Georgia, consisting of one hundred and seventy members, appeared in Gregory, but passed on to the district above Central City which bears his name, and there made a discovery which, for the time being, and in the immediate results attained, was scarcely less important than Gregory's. The first week's work with five or six men brought seventy-six ounces of gold. The entire gulch was immediately divided into claims, and soon about nine hundred men were employed digging and sluicing, "producing," says Hollister, "an average weekly of thirty-five thousand dollars." At the same time some two hundred men were tearing up the tributary gulches—Nevada, Illinois and Missouri Flats, each yielding about nine thousand dollars per week. But the supply of water being

limited, and the area mined, becoming daily more extended, measures for increasing the volume became imperative, and as this could only be accomplished by artificial means, a company was formed to construct a canal twelve miles in length, and thereby convey the waters of Fall River from its source, across the intervening hills to the mining fields. It was completed in the spring of 1860, at a cost of \$100,000.

We digress from the main subject to say that the subsequent possession of the "Consolidated Ditch" under chartered rights has been, from the date of the desertion of the worked-out gulches and flats, an unmixed curse to the whole region. It passed into the hands of a syndicate of New York shareholders that would neither sell except at an exorbitant price which the people, though in great need, properly refused to pay, nor make such improvements as would afford them the benefit of the water it claimed. There have been times when the possession of this valuable franchise by the people of Gilpin County would have been of incalculable advantage, but they were unable to secure it without unwarranted sacrifices. Still it has not profited its owners for more than twenty years. It stands to-day an incumbrance that can neither be removed nor made to serve any useful purpose.

Notwithstanding the numerous discoveries, only a small minority of the people could secure a permanent foothold. To make the distribution fair and equitable, each lode was subdivided into locations of one hundred feet in length along the vein, by fifty feet in width, for surface dumpage and general accumulation, the discoverer being, however, entitled to two hundred feet. But even this liberal provision failed to meet the demand. Hence it behooved the surplus to seek new fields. This brought about several discoveries in Boulder County, in Twelve Mile diggings, at the head of North Clear Creek, on Left Hand and various tributaries of the Boulder. Quartz veins of exceeding richness were struck at Gold Hill, and about the first of October a rude quartz mill was started there. All the Boulder diggings paid from three to five dollars per day.

Early in May a man named A. D. Gambell with a party of friends arrived in Denver, and, following an old trail, reached the town site of Golden. From thence they bore to the right, passing along the foothills to Boulder Cañon, where they halted and began hunting game to supply themselves with a provision of meat for the next stage, which would take them far up into the mountains. Those who were encamped in the vicinity endeavored to dissuade Gambell from his purpose, saying they had been there, and "it was a humbug"—no chance of finding anything but snow and ice. Nevertheless, they went with all their possessions mounted on pack mules. Proceeding up the beautiful cañon of the Boulder, when near the summit they encountered a fearful snowstorm. Having no forage, the mules were sent back to the valley. The men took their burdens upon their shoulders and plunged into the snow-covered ravines. Trudging along under great difficulties, they came at length to a tributary of the Boulder, where a gulch intersected and formed a flat. Here they camped and built a house, or hut, of brush to protect them from the storms—a frail habitation, to be sure, but better than no shelter. The next day they advanced up the gulch. The ground was frozen, yet they found indications of an excellent placer. There was no water; to dig was extremely difficult. Gambell finally hit upon the device of building a huge fire of logs upon which the dirt taken out could be thawed, and panned in water obtained from melted snow. The prospect secured convinced him that he had made a strike of considerable importance. The place was named "Gambell's Gulch," and became ultimately a noted producer. The "find" was made on the 5th of June, 1859. From the original small excavation Gambell took out eight dollars worth of gold. Convinced that nothing in the way of legitimate endeavor could be undertaken until the frost and snow disappeared, they descended to the valley for supplies. The next move was to cut a wagon road up to the mine and whip-saw lumber for a cabin and sluices.

Requiring certain articles which could only be obtained in Denver,

and having very little money, Gambell perforated a piece of tin and sifted through it a large quantity of the auriferous dirt from his claim, obtaining by this rude process about ninety dollars in coarse gold. Then, with a companion named Bolinger he came to Denver and attended Horace Greeley's lecture delivered the same evening. Selecting such supplies as were needed, and paying for them in gold, of which they seemed to have an abundance, their movements attracted general attention, and frequent inquiries were made as to where they found it. Says Gambell in his quaint but until now unpublished narrative: "We footed it to Golden, waded the stream, and when on the opposite side, it being quite dark, we rolled ourselves up in our blankets and slept the sleep of the just. On arising in the morning we saw about a dozen covered wagons on the south side. They had watched and followed us. Five men came over where we were and told us to go to their camp and get breakfast, and then show them where we got that gold, and if we could not they would hang us to a tree. We went over with them. That day at five o'clock we were back in Gambell Gulch."

But it appears that this discoverer remained there only a short time. He was of a roving disposition and had seen much of the world in his time. Governor Steele came to the camp and induced him to go on a further prospecting expedition, which led them to the present town of Nevada. Ben Burroughs had just discovered his famous lode. Gambell stopped awhile and staked out a gulch claim just below that of Burroughs; built a cabin there—one of the first in the district. A few days afterward Gambell and Sam Link organized a mining district after the customary formula, which was brief and to the point, distinguishing it as "New Nevada." Gambell states that he recorded the first town lot in the district. About the same time the somewhat renowned "Pat Casey" began to open a claim he had taken on the Burroughs lode. After a short time spent here the subject of this sketch crossed over into the Valley of Clear Creek, visiting the solitudes of its head waters and passing over into Middle Park.

We present this sketch with the view of illustrating the character of the strong men who blazed the early trails and discovered some of our greatest mining sections. Hundreds more might be related, but it is unnecessary.

By this time the entire scene of mining transactions had been transferred to the mountains, spreading over a vast territory. Groups crossed from Russell into Clear Creek, locating on Grass Valley, Soda Creek, Illinois, Payne's and Spanish Bars, whence they scattered over the Western ranges into the South Park, and to the Arkansas. Some of the earliest were met and killed by the Ute Indians. In the fall many important discoveries were made—under the shadows of Mount Lincoln, at Buckskin Joe near the Mosquito Range, at Fairplay, and Tarryall, Hamilton, and other points. The Phillips mine at Buckskin Joe was in its time the most prominent in the region. The district was named for Joseph Higginbottom, one of a party of six prospectors. This occurred in September 1859. But it was not until 1860 that this section acquired its renown, when a town was laid out by Jacob B. Stansell, Miles Dodge and J. W. Hibbard, who gave it the name of Laurette. A rude stamp mill was brought in and began reducing the surface quartz of the Phillips, which was very rich and easily treated. At one time there were twenty-four stamps and a dozen arastras at work upon the ores of this and neighboring mines. The district prospered amazingly, saloons multiplied, and Buckskin developed into one of the very brisk and breezy settlements of the country.

Let us now return to the original base and note the progress made there in the months between May and December.

Excepting Russell's, few of the gulches yielded remarkable returns, though several of them paid handsomely. In the lower section it became apparent that sluicing must be supplemented by crushing mills in order to secure the gold retained in the quartz. All that had been gained by the primitive appliances was a collection of the loose metal sprinkled through the more complete decompositions.

As a cheap but exasperatingly slow and tedious substitute for stamps, Mexican arastras were adopted, and several constructed during the autumn. Says Cushman, "One Mr. Red exhibited the quality of his genius in a trip hammer, pivoted on a stump, the hammer head pounding quartz in a wooden trough. For obvious reasons this was dubbed the 'Woodpecker Mill.' The next was a home made six stamper, built by Charles Giles of Galloway County, Ohio, run by water power and situated near the mouth of Chase Gulch. The stamp stems—shod with iron—the cam-shaft, cams and mortar were of wood. This rude concern netted the owner \$6,000 that summer and fall. The first imported mill was the little three stamper of T. T. Prosser, which was set up in Prosser Gulch. About the middle of September. Colman & Le Fevre brought in a six stamp mill." Quite a number of others followed, and when all were in operation, the monotonous pounding of stamps was heard all along the line from Central to Black Hawk, lending an air of progressive industry which has not been presented in any other district, because only a few have employed such methods of reduction. The pioneer newspaper of the Gregory diggings was established August 8, 1859, by Thomas Gibson, and entitled "The Rocky Mountain Gold Reporter and Mountain City Herald." Though of modest dimensions, scarcely larger than an ordinary double letter sheet, it contained all the news of the time in well condensed articles and items. It ran until the snows began to fall, and was then suspended until the following spring, when its publication was resumed in Denver, and the papers distributed to its mountain readers by express. In time it developed into the "Herald," and finally to the "Denver Commonwealth," owned by Thomas Gibson and edited by Lewis Ledyard Weld and O. J. Hollister.

All the available space in the gulches and upon the mountain sides was covered with tents and wagons, with occasionally a log cabin. William N. Byers occupied a not very commodious canvas backed residence in Central City, and was the first to suggest its name, this particular locality affording at least sufficient level ground for a town

site, and being equi-distant from Black Hawk and Nevada. It appears that Mr. Byers had come over from the Jackson Diggings on Clear Creek, and when arrived at the point where the "Register" block now stands, he looked down the gulch toward Gregory, and espied John L. Dailey and Thomas Gibson cutting timber out of the road.

They soon met and established their camp at the junction of what became when the town was founded, Main and Lawrence streets.

It was not long before some kind of an organization became an absolute necessity. In such a heterogeneous mass of human beings great disorder prevailed. Loud complaints arose from the majority against the order of things which permitted those who came in May and June to absorb all the profitable ground. They demanded a division. Therefore, to quiet the clamor a mass meeting was held at Gregory Point, over which Wilkes Defrees presided, and which, through Green Russell's party acting in conjunction with the early comers, was controlled wholly in that interest. A committee of twelve was appointed to draft a code of laws, rules and regulations. The boundaries of the district were defined, the size of lode claims fixed, the method of locating determined, and a court of arbitration created for the settlement of disputes between claimants. At a subsequent meeting held on the 9th of July, another resolution was adopted, providing for the election of a Sheriff, a President, Secretary, and Recorder of Claims, the ballot to be taken forthwith. It resulted in the election of Richard Sopris, President, C. A. Roberts, Recorder, and Charles Peck, Sheriff. Before adjournment a committee was appointed to codify the laws of the district which up to that time had been based upon a series of resolutions.

CHAPTER XIV.

1859—ATTEMPTS TO INSTITUTE SOCIAL AND CIVIL ORDER—MOVEMENT FOR STATE ORGANIZATION—CONSTITUTION REJECTED—ELECTION OF B. D. WILLIAMS TO CONGRESS—THE TERRITORY OF JEFFERSON—PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—LEAVENWORTH AND PIKE'S PEAK EXPRESS—AMOS STECK AND THE U. S. MAILS—DUEL BETWEEN R. E. WHITSITT AND PARK M'CLURE—INCEPTION OF WHEAT CULTURE—PROF. O. J. GOLDRICK—FOUNDING OF SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES—APPEAL TO CONGRESS FOR A STABLE GOVERNMENT—PEOPLE'S COURTS—HOW THE MINERS PUNISHED CRIMINALS—LAWLESSNESS IN DENVER.

The year 1859 was, in many respects, the most interesting period of our history. Heterogeneous masses, collected by groups from the different States, made up of all grades—collegians, embryonic statesmen, lawyers, aspiring politicians, slaveholders, abolitionists, merchants, clerks, mechanics, farmers, teamsters, gamblers, laborers, desperadoes, criminals of every sort, fugitives from justice, crowding, pushing and rudely jostling each other in a wild, indiscriminate scramble for spoils, assembled upon the extreme frontier over which there was no jurisdiction of law, local, state or federal. In this strange conglomeration there was but one thought, the hope of gain through the single pursuit of gold mining or its natural correlatives. To reduce these incongruous and disorderly elements to a state of homogeneity, was the impelling purpose of the frequent political movements which began in March, and sprang up at intervals throughout the year. The absence of the controlling force in every form of modern civilization—the gentler sex—intensified and widened the confusion. There were neither wives, daughters, sisters nor homes. It is not possible for any community composed wholly of males to perfect or maintain a well directed sys-

tem of civil order. It may be accomplished within the narrow and exclusive limits of a secret society, perhaps, wherein every member is subject to arbitrary rules, but never in the ordinary walks of life. It is the gentler element alone which modifies, regulates, restrains the evil passions, purifies, elevates and ennobles mankind, and fits him for supreme direction. Nowhere in the history of our race upon this continent is this fact more fully exemplified than in the formative stages of its great mining camps. There was no orderly administration of justice, no well adjusted scheme of government here until the wives and daughters of the pioneers appeared and began to exercise their influence in the establishment of churches, schools and missions, and incidentally upon the organization of society. For more than twelve months there were but few women or children to soften and put the brutal instincts of misguided man to shame.

When these resistless civilizers were supplied, lo! a wondrous transformation began. Theretofore the miscellaneous horde dwelt in tents, or the rudest of log habitations, doing their own cooking, washing, and other household duties, in which there was a lamentable omission of cleanliness. All carried deadly weapons, to protect themselves from the lawless. Thefts, robberies, murders and a general assortment of outrages occurred, but there was no remedy save that of the always to be deprecated form of justice meted out by irresponsible vigilance committees, and this was sparingly exercised. For the want of comfortable households the unoccupied majority spent their time in the saloons making beasts of themselves, or gambling away their possessions. Lacking beds, they rolled themselves in blankets and lay down upon the ground under the shining stars. Lacking families, they congregated in unholy places and fell under the temptations there presented. I have seen hundreds of men about the gambling tables, presided over by men whose only object was to cheat and deceive, betting away, first their money, next their fire arms, next their clothing, and finally their teams, wagons and contents, everything of value they possessed, upon the turn of a card in the hands of dexterous three card

monte dealers. Such men, stripped and helpless, became fit subjects for any desperate adventure that might be suggested to them. Some of the tables were conducted by women, richly appareled, handsome of face and form, but possessed of devils that were more devilish and ruinous than the coarser habits of their male employers and coadjutors. When the victim fell at such resorts he usually dropped to the lowest depths of degradation.

On the 6th of November, 1858, when there were less than two hundred men in this region, an effort was made to create a civil government. A meeting was convened and an election held for delegate to Congress, and for a representative in the Kansas Legislature. The first was solemnly charged to proceed to Washington forthwith, and employ his best endeavors toward securing the organization of a separate territorial institution. To Hiram J. Graham was delegated the higher mission, while A. J. Smith took the lesser distinction. Both failed.

In a previous chapter reference was made to a second attempt which was inaugurated in April, 1859, whereby it was proposed to soar much higher and create a sovereign commonwealth. The constitutional convention then provided for met in Blake & Williams' Hall, on Blake street, and after discussing the proposition at some length, adjourned to the first of August, at which time one hundred and sixty-seven delegates, representing thirty-seven precincts, assembled to deliberate further upon the momentous issues involved. The permanent organization effected, a brisk debate ensued as to whether they would have a State or only a Territorial form of procedure. It was decided ultimately in favor of the larger enterprise. A constitution was framed in accordance with this decision, submitted to the people, and overwhelmingly defeated. But the projectors, though silenced in regard to this proposition, were by no means disheartened. Another convention sprang up immediately afterward and gave birth to a second appeal for an assemblage of deputations on the first Monday in October, and the institution of a provisional government. The delegates assembled and



Joseph Creswell

organized. After the committee of the whole had risen and reported that it was expedient to form such a government, H. P. A. Smith entered an emphatic protest on the ground—

First. That they had all the laws that existed in Eastern Kansas, adopted under the constitution of the United States.

Second. That they had no legal right to form such a government.

Third. That it was not called for by the people, nor was it necessary or proper.

Fourth. It would abrogate all the legal rights, and throw the country upon the results of a gigantic vigilance committee.

Fifth. That they had elected a delegate to Congress with instructions to ask for a territorial form of government, and by the action taken the convention clearly repudiated his election, and, at the same time, the laws of the United States.

No attention whatever was paid to this remonstrance. The committee simply took up the business where it left off when interrupted, and proceeded to complete its programme. The address to the people took the position that the laws of Kansas could not be extended over this region, because the Indian title remained unextinguished, citing in proof the nineteenth section of the organic act of that Territory, wherein it was expressly stated that all such territory to which the Indian title had not been extinguished should be excepted out of the boundaries and form no part of the Territory of Kansas, until said tribe should signify their assent to the President of the United States to be included within the said Territory. And it was correct. Again it was declared that there were no courts of criminal jurisdiction or of appeal, and that the so-called organization of Arapahoe County, if contested, could not be sustained.

The upshot of the matter was the production of a constitution for a provisional government of the Territory of Jefferson, which was adopted, and an election ordered for the 24th of October.

At this election R. W. Steele of Florence, Nebraska, was chosen to be Governor; Lucien W. Bliss, Secretary of State; Charles R. Bissell, Auditor; G. W. Cook, Treasurer; Samuel McLean, Attorney-General;

and Oscar B. Totten, Clerk of the Supreme Court, composed of A. J. Allison, Chief-Justice, with John M. Odell and E. Fitzgerald as Associates. John L. Merrick became Marshal, and H. H. McAfee Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Intelligence of this unauthorized proceeding was quickly conveyed to the seat of government in Kansas, where it excited very general consternation, resulting in an order from the Executive to the people to hold an election for delegate to Congress, and officers for Arapahoe County, under the laws of that Territory. This order being disapproved, it was wholly ignored.

The original Constitutional Convention held in August, made provision for the election of a delegate to Congress on the first Monday in October, in the event of the rejection of their fundamental charter, which as we have seen, went to the wall. Therefore, the next move in order was the holding of such election. Eight candidates entered the field—Beverley D. Williams, R. W. Steele, C. A. Roberts, J. H. St. Matthew, George M. Willing, Samuel Adams and Hiram J. Graham. There being no laws, no penalty for fraudulent registration or voting, no systematic arrangement of election machinery, frauds were committed that were not only gigantic, but in some cases highly amusing. This was especially true of the more populous mining districts where we have heard related by some of the perpetrators, many ludicrous incidents of the manner in which this first campaign was conducted. As the result, Williams received a majority of the votes cast, went to Congress, and there remained until the ultimate passage of the organic act creating the Territory of Colorado, in the spring of 1861.

But we are not yet done with the prevailing mania for the free and frequent enjoyment of the elective franchise. After the erection of the Provisional Government came the Provisional Legislature, composed of a Council, or Senate, of eight members, and a House of Representatives of twenty-one. The first consisted of N. G. Wyatt, Henry Allen, Eli Carter, Mark A. Moore, James M. Wood, James Emmerson, W. D. Arnett and D. Shafer; and the House, of the following: John C. Moore,

W. P. McClure, William M. Slaughter, M. D. Hickman, David K. Wall, Miles Patton, J. S. Stone, J. N. Hallock, J. S. Allen, A. J. Edwards, A. McFadden, Edwin James, T. S. Golden, J. A. Gray, Z. Jackson, S. B. Kellogg, William Davidson, C. C. Post, Asa Smith and C. P. Hall.

On the 7th of November, the two bodies convened in joint session, when Governor Steele delivered his message, a well-considered document that compares favorably with any since issued. It reviewed the entire situation from the point of actual developments, giving succinctly the needs and reasons for the creation of the Provisional structure, and explaining why the attempts made by Kansas to exercise her jurisdiction had proven abortive. Having been denied protection to life and property, the people, who were sovereign, had taken the only measures left them to secure it.

In announcing the consummation of the scheme, the "News," after taking down from its headlines the Territory of Kansas and substituting that of Jefferson, gave utterance to the rather, at this date, interesting prophecy: "We hope and expect to see it stand until we can boast of a million of people, and look upon a city of a hundred thousand souls having all the comforts and luxuries of the most favored. Then we will hear the whistle of the locomotive and the rattle of trains arriving and departing on their way to and from the Atlantic and Pacific. * * *

The future of Jefferson Territory—soon to be a Sovereign State—is glorious with promise. No country in the world in so short a time has developed so many resources of wealth." Let the reader bear in mind the significant fact that this prediction was published nearly thirty years ago, in a city of less than two thousand fixed residents, and in a Territory which cast less than three thousand legal votes; when flour was worth \$14 to \$20 per 100 lbs.; corn meal \$10, bacon, sugar and coffee 25 cents per pound, salt 12, beans 12½, butter 75, lard 50, crackers 20, bread 15, lumber \$60 per 1,000, nails \$20 per keg, and common window glass \$10 to \$12 per box. Happily, the writer of the editorial quoted has lived to witness and enjoy the verification of his dream in everything, and in even

greater measure than his imagination then portrayed, save the million of inhabitants, but the balance are coming.

The Legislature proceeded with its duties, paying respectful attention to the suggestions of the inaugural. Some valuable laws were enacted, among them a charter incorporating the city of Denver; providing for the organization of nine counties, and the election of officers therein; levying a poll tax of one dollar per capita to provide a revenue, and for the appointment of a committee to prepare and report to an adjourned session on the 23d of January, 1860, full civil and criminal codes.

The levy of the per capita tax was strenuously opposed. By instigation of the malcontents who omitted no effort to bring the provisional establishment into disrepute, the miners were informed that the legislature before adjourning had enacted a law taxing them six to seven dollars each, to be collected at once, and in addition placed a tax of a certain percentage upon all mining claims at their estimated value. The rumor spread like wildfire, and incited a general revolt. A sharp remonstrance signed by six or seven hundred miners was sent in, repudiating in effect the government and all its acts. Its reception here created a lively sensation among a cloud of political aspirants, coming as it did on the eve of the municipal election under the recently granted charter. Many candidates withdrew precipitately from the field under the apprehension that the entire fabric which had been erected with so much care had fallen into ruin. But through the efforts of the more patriotic, quiet was soon restored by the dissemination of the facts.

The election for municipal officers was held at the appointed time, and John C. Moore elevated to the office of Mayor, who succeeded in instituting a strong and effective administration. Being a Southerner by birth, when the rebellion broke out he went home and became an officer in the Confederate service.

We will now consider the measures taken for the introduction of other essential elements of progress. For twelve months the people had been without mails or any means of communication with the States, save the passage to and fro of emigrant and merchandise trains. Up to

June 7th the mails destined for this city had been carried by the Salt Lake stages, and dropped at Fort Laramie. Later they were forwarded from the old California crossing of the Platte. The charge on each letter was fifty cents, and on newspapers ten cents, and when received were from one to three months old.

On Saturday, June 7th, two coaches of the "Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express" arrived, bringing nine through passengers,—among them Horace Greeley, editor of the New York "Tribune," Albert D. Richardson, staff correspondent of the Boston "Journal," and Henry Villard of the Cincinnati "Commercial." These gentlemen came on the long and trying journey expressly to investigate the reputed discoveries of gold in the Rocky Mountains. Fortunately for the result, John Gregory had made his valuable discovery just a month previous, hence when these visitors arrived and proceeded to the gulch as they did immediately, there was something substantial to exhibit. Their conclusions are set forth in the preceding chapter. The coaches in which they came left Leavenworth on the 28th of March, and were followed April 1st by a long train of wagons bearing materials for the equipment of the road,—camp supplies and so forth for the requisite stations, established at intervals of twenty-five miles. The route pursued was from Leavenworth to Riley, thence along the divide between the Republican and Solomon Forks of the Kansas, crossing the heads of its tributaries for some distance, and then bearing northward to the Republican, the south side of which it followed to a point near its source; thence to the heads of the Beaver, Bijou and Kiowa Creeks through the pineries to Cherry Creek, and so on to Denver. The entire length of the line was six hundred and eighty-seven miles, which was, however, subsequently reduced seventy or eighty miles by "cut offs." Wood, water and grazing lands were abundant along the greater part of the route. The company had purchased fifty-two Concord coaches, one of which left either end of the line daily, and when established made the trip in ten to twelve days. John S. Jones was the resident agent at Leavenworth, and Dr. J. M. Fox in Denver, while Nelson Sargent, still a resident of this city, and at a later period,

proprietor of the old Tremont House on the West side—managed the western division. This established a convenient medium of rapid (?) transit, and a safer thoroughfare for immigrants who thereupon abandoned the Indian-infested and inhospitable Smoky Hill. The line was laid out by B. D. Williams, our first duly accredited delegate to Congress, as noted elsewhere. Mr. Williams is at this time a practicing attorney in the city of Little Rock, Arkansas. He has made but one visit to Denver since the early days in which he assumed a prominent part, and that in 1887.

The Pike's Peak Express had been operated only a short time when it was purchased by John S. Jones, and Messrs. Russell, Majors and Waddell,—contractors for the transportation of government supplies to the troops in Utah,—and a new company organized, which also absorbed the Hockaday passenger and express line plying between the Missouri River and Salt Lake City. Under the charter granted by the Kansas legislature it took the title of the "Central Overland, California and Pike's Peak Express Company," abbreviated to "C. O. C. & P. P. Express." An office was opened in Denver on the site now occupied by Henry C. Brown's building at the corner of Sixteenth and Holladay streets, with Judge Amos Steck in charge, who politely delivered up letters for twenty-five cents each. A more accommodating or efficient agent could not have been named. Possessed of a remarkably retentive memory for names, faces and events, it was the work of an instant for him to answer any inquiry that might be made. No matter how complex, strange or unpronounceable the name of the applicant, if there was or was not a letter for him, Steck knew it without examining the boxes. If a man applied at any time thereafter, even after a lapse of a year, Steck recognized him immediately, and called him by name. He rarely made a mistake. His efficiency and his breezy welcomes became the subject of current talk all over the land. To this day the pioneers at their annual or periodical gatherings take infinite pride in relating their experiences at the office of the C. O. C. & P. P. Express.

As discovered in after times when the company fell under financial

disaster, it started out extravagantly, with insufficient capital and with a considerable debt. The expense of re-establishing the line was necessarily heavy. It was not long before serious embarrassment began to be felt. General Bela M. Hughes, its manager, struggled heroically against the tide. He built the new line not only to Denver but to Salt Lake, taking the shorter and better Platte route. Their capital exhausted, resort was had to borrowing, and Ben Holladay became the lender. Large sums were advanced from time to time to relieve the company from its financial straits. As a natural result there was a mortgage covering its entire property. Whether justly or not, we do not care to inquire, the mortgage was foreclosed, and the property passed under Holladay's control. General Hughes managed it superbly for a year, and then resigned.

In 1860 the Butterfield Southern Overland Express Company, which ran a line of coaches through Texas and Arizona to California, endeavored to capture the long coveted U. S. mails from the Pacific Steamship Company by a demonstration of more rapid time. Its trial trip was made in twenty-one days as against twenty-three days by water. But the scheme did not succeed. Meanwhile, W. H. Russell, who was also a sharp competitor for the contract, made preparations with the utmost secrecy for a grand *coup d'état* designed to overwhelm his rivals by an unprecedented sweep of enterprise. His project comprehended the establishment of a Pony Express between St. Joseph, Missouri, and Sacramento. When everything was in readiness, he published a card in the New York "Herald," stating that on a certain date he would begin carrying letters between the points named, guaranteeing their delivery in nine days. For letters weighing two ounces or less, the charge was five dollars, other mail matter being subject to special contract. Of course this bold challenge created profound astonishment, but was received with great rejoicing by merchants and bankers doing business in California.

Pony riders started simultaneously from each end of the route on the morning of April 9th, 1860, in the presence of a great multitude attracted to the scene by this altogether novel event in the way of

overland dispatch. At St. Joseph the animal led out was a beautiful, delicate limbed, but strong and fleet pony of jet black, groomed to the highest state of perfection. At Sacramento a pure white steed of equal value took a like position. So great was the interest in San Francisco that a thousand or more citizens of that metropolis accompanied horse and rider by steamer to Sacramento. At a given signal both riders mounted and were off like the wind, each speeding to his appointed station. Each rider covered from fifty to seventy-five miles, and at the end another horse and rider stood ready to receive his burden. The saddle bags were transferred without delay, passed to the next, and so on to the end. The first trip was accomplished in eight days and four hours.

As a result of this daring exploit, "Uncle Billy Russell" gathered in the government contract for transporting the United States mails to Salt Lake, and subsequently to Denver.

On the 4th of March, 1860, a line of coaches was established between Denver and Gregory by Kehler & Montgomery. About the same time Hinckley & Co. put on a similar line. Both were swallowed up by the parent line from the East, which thereafter maintained its supremacy.

On the 19th of October, 1859, to go back a few months with the intention of picking up the scattered threads of events, there occurred one of the melancholy incidents that give a sad coloring to many frontier communities, the shadow of which in this case hung over the participants for years afterward.

From some cause never published, and into which we have no inclination to penetrate, a quarrel occurred between William P. McClure and Richard E. Whitsitt, which could only be settled by a hostile meeting. The challenge was sent by McClure's second, John C. Moore, on the 18th, was promptly accepted by Whitsitt, Colt's navy revolvers named as the weapons, a mile above the city on Cherry Creek designated as the battleground, and the hour the following evening—distance ten paces, Morton C. Fisher acting for the party chal-

lenged. When the ground had been measured and the principals placed in position, the Sheriff appeared and endeavored to stop the proceeding, but without avail. The parties fired simultaneously at the word of command. For a few moments each of the combatants retained his position, but soon McClure was observed to recoil a step or two, saying to his surgeon, who had approached, "I am hit." The parties to the encounter, and the bystanders, about two hundred in number, returned to town, when McClure's injuries were examined. The ball, which had taken effect in the groin, was extracted, and thirty days later the wound healed.

In the autumn of 1859 the town of Highlands, now North Denver, was organized, but made slight progress until recent years.

The Provisional Legislature adjourned December 7th, and on the 8th an election was held for a representative in the Kansas Legislature from Arapahoe County, when Richard Sopris was chosen.

In the latter part of the same year the town of Auraria, now West Denver, began to assume a more substantial and metropolitan appearance by the introduction of two-story buildings devoted to business. To supply and cultivate the literary tastes of the people, Arthur E. Pierce—now a resident of South Denver—opened a news stand with a circulating library, on a rough pine table under the shade of a cottonwood tree. It was soon ascertained that he had punctured a vein of appetite which developed by what it fed upon. In a short time the profits of his trade enabled him to enlarge his stock and open a second department in Graham's Pioneer, or "City Drug Store," situated on the east side. Says the local chronicler of the period, in rounding off the item, though we fail to perceive its relevancy, "From this small beginning sprang the trade that is now (1866) so extensively carried on by Messrs. Woolworth & Moffat on Larimer street, and George W. Kassler & Co. on Blake street."

We find in a curious incident of the time the possible beginning of wheat culture in Colorado, which brings to mind the antiquated maxim that "great oaks from little acorns grow." In passing the cultivated

garden of W. H. Parkinson, a citizen observed in a sheltered corner two vagrant stalks of wheat, well headed with plump and beautiful grain, thoroughly ripened. Though an apparently insignificant circumstance, it attracted serious attention, owing to the universal interest in the unsolved problem relating to the extent to which the cultivation of cereals could be carried upon the uplands. It had been already demonstrated that vegetables in profusion could be raised along the rich loams of the bottoms bordering the streams, but here seemed to be at least a partial solution of the main question. By years of experimenting it has been practically evolved that no soil in the world produces finer wheat or more abundantly than the uplands of our State, when properly tilled and watered.

Still another event worthy of more than passing attention was the arrival of "Professor" O. J. Goldrick, one of the historic characters of every stage from that time until his death in 1886, who marched into town clad in irreproachable broadcloth, wearing the inhibited "boiled shirt," and crowned with a hat of lustrous silk, his long and rather shapely hands protected from the burning sun by kid gloves, yet driving an ox team with a regular orthodox bull-whacker's whip. Probably no entry of that or any other year attracted so much attention, or elicited more diverse comment. But the Professor was not born to blush unseen, nor to live in a community, whatever its character, without making his influence felt. He had a place to fill in the affairs of this new country, and he was found to be equal to the responsibility, however grotesque the manner of his introduction. A few days later he was engaged in organizing a Sunday School embracing all sects and denominations, under the pious direction of the Reverends George W. Fisher and Jacob Adriance, and assisted by Lewis N. Tappan, D. C. Collier and others, in a lowly cabin on the west side. There being a few women and children, the next venture was the opening of a day school. To fortify himself with proper methods from the fountain head of authority in such matters, he began a correspondence with Professor John D. Phillbrick of Boston, from whom he received the textbooks applied

for, together with an autograph letter from the eminent educator, stating that he had taken occasion to allude to Goldrick's application in general terms as a fresh and striking illustration of the advance of popular education westward with the course of empire. "And now," he continues, "imagine my arm extended with the speed of thought from this cradle of the free school on the Atlantic shore, over the Alleghanies, over the 'Father of Waters,' to give you a cordial greeting in your 'Union School' on the frontier of civilization at the foot of the Rocky Mountains." How little he comprehended in that distant day that twenty-four years later he would be making a pilgrimage to the magnificent tree of education that sprang from this primitive root, attracted by the national reputation it had then acquired, urged thereto by the commendations of the National Commissioner of Education, and at the close of his examination be able to class it among the best in the world. Goldrick was for many years city editor of the "News" after it became a daily, and while yet a weekly publication, its traveling correspondent. Toward the close of 1859 John L. Dailey purchased Thomas Gibson's interest in the paper.

On the first of January, 1860, ex-Governor W. S. Beall, of Wisconsin, prepared a lengthy memorial to the President of the United States, setting forth the exact condition of affairs on this frontier from the beginning to that date, reviewing the various stages of progress, the discoveries made, the extent of country developed, the institutions established, the evident permanency of the population, and concluding by the presentation of two distinct propositions. The first invoked the interposition of Congress for the early extinguishment of the Indian title, for the survey and sale of the public lands and the establishment of an assay office for the benefit of the miners; that Congress enable the people to form a State organization, but in the event of its refusal, that an enabling act be passed providing that if on the first day of July, 1860, thirty thousand resident inhabitants should be found within the limits of the mineral region, a Territorial government should be constituted; or

if, on the first day of September, 1860, one hundred and fifty thousand were returned, then a State organization was to be granted.

We venture the assertion that Congress never before or since had under consideration, if indeed it was ever presented, so remarkable a proposition. But it must be remembered that all through this year of rapid transitions, the idea of organization and the desperate need of protection pervaded all classes here upon the plains, though it was less manifest in the mining camps. Up among the hills they were not wedded to the political intrigues carried on in Denver, had no sympathy with any of the movements instituted for State or Territorial centralization, because the necessity was less urgent. If one of their people killed another in a square stand up fight, they simply took the victor to the nearest saloon and lionized him by filling him with villainous whisky. If a thief broke into a cabin or tent and stole anything of value, they hung him, or soundly thrashed and then banished him from the district. If a man murdered another in cold blood, they called a meeting, gave him a fair trial, and when convicted he quickly joined the silent majority at the end of a rope. Here is an example of their method of dealing with *unpardonable* crimes. A man was convicted in Mountain City of stealing a pair of blankets. He confessed his guilt, so the proceedings in his case were brief. He was sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes upon his bare back, well laid on. The muscular thrasher selected took infinite pleasure in laying them on. Then to have one side of his head shaved and be ordered to leave the camp, never to appear there again under penalty of being shot.

They didn't need any law in the mountains—they were a law unto themselves, and we have yet to hear of a single instance wherein any man was unfairly tried or punished, or, if guilty, acquitted by any of these impromptu tribunals, probably because lawyers were prohibited from practicing before them.

People's courts under the judicial system established by the mountaineers, were improvised assemblies or mass meetings of the people, convened to adjudicate criminal causes, and were presided over by an officer,

chosen by general election. The penalties inflicted according to the grade of the crime committed, were hanging by rope to the nearest tree, thrashing, and banishment. The miners' courts were convened upon call where the commission of crimes or felonies rendered them necessary, and were composed of the people of the district, a sort of public jury who heard the evidence and disposed of it according to their best judgment. They elected their president and secretary, sheriff, collector and recorder, who were subject to the general meeting of miners. They heard and determined all cases brought before them. There was no appeal from their decisions, and their judgments were promptly executed.

Nevertheless, there was much reason for the popular clamor for government and civil order in Denver. Here the people were subjected to conditions less easily controlled. Degraded and dissolute men thronged the streets, and the better class was in imminent danger of being overridden by them. In January, 1860, the citizens on both sides of the creek were aroused to the absolute necessity of arming in self defence. In Denver a party of men took forcible possession of a portion of the town site and began to erect buildings thereon for their own benefit. As usual, a public meeting was called and resolutions adopted providing for the appointment of a committee to warn the jumpers to desist from further interference with vested rights. The committee was met by a strong battery of loaded rifles in the hands of resolute men. After a parley they retreated. Intense excitement prevailed. That night, the intruders having left their claims, a party went out and destroyed the improvements they had made. This only added fresh fuel to the flame. Suspecting Dick Whatsitt, secretary of the Town Company of the deed, they "went gunning" for him. He was found, and would have been killed but for the timely interference of friends. Good old Major Bradford undertook to explain matters, but they denounced him as a liar and fired three shots at him, neither of which took effect. Another meeting was called. The belligerents, weary of further contention, sent in a proposition which was accepted, and thus the rebellion terminated.

In Auraria a different state of disorder prevailed. The town was infested by a gang of thieves who stole under cover of darkness everything they could lay their hands upon. The annoyance becoming intolerable, the public tribunal was convened, testimony convicting certain men of theft adduced, and the gang was ordered to leave the place within five hours. W. H. Middaugh, one of the principal witnesses, was twice fired upon, but escaped unhurt. A military company known as the "Rangers," was called into service and patrolled the streets that night. The next day the thieves disappeared. We contend that the citizens of both towns would have saved themselves much trouble by adopting the miners' plan of thrashing and banishment.

CHAPTER XV.

CANON CITY, GOLDEN. BOULDER, HAMILTON, FAIRPLAY, AND OTHER TOWNS IN 1859—

MR. LOVELAND'S PROJECT FOR A RAILWAY THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS—HORACE GREELEY'S INVOLUNTARY BATH—ADVENTURES OF BOULDER'S PIONEERS WITH LEFT HAND AND BEAR HEAD—INDIAN PROPHECY—MINING ON VASQUEZ, IN THE SOUTH, AND ON THE BLUE—MOUNTAIN CITY—PACIFIC RAILWAY LEGISLATION—INFLUENCE OF SETTLEMENT IN COLORADO UPON THAT MEASURE.

Cañon City, situated at the gateway of the magnificent cañon of the Arkansas River, and the natural thoroughfare for immigrants arriving by the Arkansas route to the mines of the South Park, was located though scarcely founded, since but one cabin was built, in October, 1859. This cabin was planted just above the well-known Soda Spring, and was the joint effort of a party of six, some of whom had been connected with the town of Fountain, near Pueblo. This work completed, they proceeded to lay out a road to the Tarryall diggings then attracting much attention. Little more was done until 1860, when there came a crowd, hungering and thirsting for real estate and the concomitant profits of a possible metropolis, who took summary possession of the town site and began making permanent improvements thereon. The developments about Golden were among the most active of the year. Scores of arrivals encamped there, attracted not only by the picturesqueness of the little nook in the foothills, but by the gold mines that were under vigorous operation at Arapahoe, just below the entrance to Table Mountain Cañon. W. A. H. Loveland, John M. Ferrell, E. L. Berthoud, Fox Diefendorf and P. B. Cheney—the latter as the years passed, one of the most widely advertised men in the region, through the misguided industry of Goldrick and Capt. George West—were among the first arrivals.

Their judgment of its strength as a commercially strategic point was confirmed when the Gregory mines burst into prominence, and the great columns began to march in that direction. Here, they conceived, lay the key to the whole situation, present and future, and entertained no doubt that their Golden fledgling would one day be the political capital, as well as the commercial emporium of the Great West. Under this conviction the survey was made and the site platted. No town developed so rapidly as Golden. It became at once the rival of Denver, and a dangerous competitor for the supreme position. Mr. Loveland saw at the beginning that if railways were ever constructed to the Rocky Mountains, a prospect far enough away then, notwithstanding the germs of a Pacific road were assuming tangible outlines—the only feasible route lay through the channel cut by glaciers and forming the defile of Vasquez Fork. From that moment until its consummation he never lost sight of the scheme, nor missed an opportunity to commend its advantages. As we shall have occasion to review his somewhat remarkable career at the proper time, it is only essential at present to state here that under his direction the town grew and prospered until the shadows of 1861–2 fell upon it, quenching for some years the prestige of the initial stage.

To facilitate the passage of emigrant and supply trains to the mines, Mr. Ferrell threw a log bridge over Clear Creek (anathemas upon the man or men who changed it from Vasquez), then a raging torrent from the melting snows. When nearly completed, along came the editor of the "New York Tribune," of whose unfortunate experience in crossing, Capt. Berthoud relates the following incident :

"Horace Greeley, mounted on a mule, dressed in the rough garb of a traveler, with his old white hat firmly pressed upon his head, rode up to the bank. He was bound to see all that Pike's Peak promised to its votaries. He had heard that Vasquez Fork, like another Pactolus, rolled over golden sands; that in the mountain peaks west of the Platte the miners had discovered gold everywhere, and that all that was needed was work and small capital to produce untold wealth for all. In view of



John S. Perky.

this he had sallied out, and now before him roared a vicious, impetuous mountain torrent that must be passed. Fearlessly he plunged in, mule and all, and right manfully did he buffet the angry waves ; but the waves prevailed ; mule and rider and old white hat stood not upon the order of their going, but danced merrily down to swell the turbid Platte. Horror-struck at the accident, the whole population ran to the rescue. The mule landed first. A sturdy miner with a boat hook soon rescued the dripping and half-drowned editor, and by the seat of his unmentionables drew him ashore."

Among the members of the town company were Ferrell, D. K. Wall, J. C. Kirby, J. C. Bowles, H. J. Carter and E. L. Berthoud. The site embraced twelve hundred and eighty acres. A second bridge was built. The population increased daily. Some erected homes, others business houses. Stocks of goods multiplied, some of them equal to the largest on Cherry Creek, and designed for the mountain trade. Saw-mills placed in the well timbered hills hard by, furnished ample supplies of building material. Fair diggings were reported to have been found in Guy Gulch. Excitement prevailed on every side. George West established the Western "Mountaineer," which gave the place an earnest advocate. Albert D. Richardson, and the afterward famous war correspondent of the New York "Herald," Thomas Knox, became associate editors and correspondents. Explorations about the vicinity revealed the existence of valuable coal beds, and on Ralston Creek the Murphy mine was opened, from which good and cheap fuel was furnished.

Passing along the bases of the mountains to old Fort St. Vrain, the record shows that a party arrived there from the Platte in October, 1858, and was composed of Captain Thomas Aikins, his son, and S. J. Aikins, a nephew, A. A. Brookfield, Charles Clouser, Captain Yount, Daniel Gordon, John Throck, Theodore Squires, Thomas Lorton, the Wheelock Brothers, and a number of others whose names are not preserved. On the 17th they encamped at "Red Rock," near the existing town of Boulder. Some distance away stood the smoke tanned tepees of a considerable band of Arapahoe Indians under the chief, Left Hand,

who, discovering the presence of white men, went over and warned them to get out of the country. But he was soon conciliated by the kindly manner of his reception and recalled his order, saying there was room enough and they could dwell together in amity. "But another chief"—we quote from Bixby—"named Bear Head, seeing Left Hand's mistake, repudiated the agreement, and soon after went to the Red Rock encampment and began his complaint against the intruders by a superstitious allusion to the comet then visible. Said he, 'Do you remember when the stars fell?' He was answered, in 1832. 'That is right,' said Bear Head; 'it was in that year white man first came. Do you know what that star (the comet) with a pointer means? The pointer points back to when the stars fell as thick as the tears of our women shall fall when you come to drive us away.' He then gave the party three days in which to leave the country, intimating that serious trouble might be anticipated in the event of their failure to do so. Meanwhile, instead of decamping as ordered, the immigrants fortified themselves against surprise, and calmly awaited the next adventure. At the appointed time Bear Head approached alone, and was invited to enter. He came to relate a dream, to the effect that he stood upon a hill and saw the Boulder Creek swelled to a flood; that while his people were swallowed up by the rush of waters, all the white people were saved,—thereby indicating his idea of their inevitable fate." While the recital of this prophetic vision may have impressed his auditors profoundly, it in no wise altered their determination. They had come to stay, and through their enterprise, though the Indians hovered about for some weeks, the town of Boulder was founded, and has become one of the loveliest in the State, the seat of an incomparable agricultural section, and a joy to its inhabitants. On the plains for miles around quadruped game abounded, so that they found no difficulty in procuring supplies. The original explorations for gold during the winter of 1858 and the spring of 1859 have been already related.

During the year last mentioned, parties who had been disappointed in their search for paying claims in Gregory, passed over the divide into

the valley of Clear Creek, where locations were made along the stream for miles above and below Idaho Springs. Several Mexicans located on Spanish Bar—whence its name—and were highly successful, taking out a large amount of gold. Others followed, and soon the bar swarmed with industrious diggers and sluicers. The tide passed up as far as Downieville, where, however, only moderate results were obtained. But the largest yields were taken from Illinois and Grass Valley Bars, below Idaho. The various tributaries were explored, and some valuable claims worked. Jackson and party, among them W. W. Whipple, now of this city, secured some excellent results in Chicago Creek. During the year George Griffith discovered a quartz lode on the mountain side near the forks of South Clear Creek, from which it is said he sluiced one hundred dollars in two days. But it was by no means difficult for even a neophyte in mining to find such veins, for they cropped out all along the slopes. Still, to the present day, no really great results have been secured. Though rich in places, the seams are narrow and the rock extremely hard, involving large expense.

Again the restless and indomitable hunters scattered out into the wilderness, a few into Middle, others toward the South Park, the latter via Chicago Creek to its sources, and over the intervening high range. Some of the very earliest explorers were massacred.

About the middle of July, 1859, the Hamilton diggings, half a mile below the town site of that name, were opened, but were neither very rich nor extensive. The most profitable ground of the period was discovered two miles above Hamilton, and the camp called "Tarryall." Hamilton became the base of supplies and the center of settlement. A mining district was organized, and claims staked out by the first comers, who secured all the valuable ground as a matter of course, and withal of right, framed and adopted laws, and thus began developments whereby they were richly rewarded. Intelligence of the strike spread quickly, and thousands rushed over the mountains to share in the harvest. Hamilton blossomed into a miniature city. The multitude here as elsewhere, finding the discoverers possessed of the fat of the land, demanded a division,

but the organizers stood firm. There were the laws, and they must be respected. There were so many claims in the gulch, and all were occupied. If the complainants wanted mining ground they must hunt for it.

Later, other discoveries occurred on the Platte, so the crowd went over and established "Fairplay," as a living reproach to their "Grab-all" neighbors. Here there appeared to be abundant room. The high bars above the stream contained sufficient gold to justify a large and permanent town.

Jefferson City sprang up near Georgia Pass six miles north of Tarryall. All the towns founded in the early epoch, save Fairplay, have disappeared from the face of the Park, itself as resplendent a vision viewed from the elevated ranges which wall it in, as the sun ever shone upon.

A company of one hundred crossed through Georgia Pass to the Swan, a tributary of the Blue, but the majority soon returned empty-handed, hastened by reports of murders being committed by the Utes, whom every one feared, knowing their unconquerable hostility to the trespassers on their cherished domain. Those who remained made some excellent discoveries at Gold Run and in Galena, American and Humbug Gulches. Others occurred in Negro, French, Gibson and Corkscrew districts, these titles being applied by the locators. These and several others were quite extensively worked in 1860, and for two or three years afterward.

Returning to Gregory, we find that the enforcement of such laws as were immediately available devolved primarily upon Jack Kehler, the authorized sheriff of Arapahoe County, which comprehended everything. His deputy in the mines was a stalwart named William Z. Cozens, than whom no man was better qualified for the trying position. He had to deal with some of the most desperate characters on the frontier, but his method of treatment caused him to be feared and respected by the most abandoned outlaws. We shall meet Mr. Cozens again in the course of this history.

In August the segregation of the rather large district began, by the setting off of Nevada and Russell into distinct communities, each governed by its own laws.

Later in the season, the first theatrical troupe arrived from Denver and catered to the universal appetite for the lighter order of dramatic entertainment, liberally interspersed with singing and dancing. The original temple of Thespis was situated in Gregory's Gulch at the intersection of two roads from Central, just above the center of Mountain City. The reader, if a recent comer, should have seen this primitive play-house, in the full glory of its opening night, for it was a novelty to be remembered. Located on the "upper deck" or loft of a rather large log cabin, the stage rudely curtained off from the auditorium, candles for footlights, with no scenery to speak of; the auditors placed upon rough wooden benches, the greater part wearing slouch hats, and bristling with fire-arms, puffing clouds of tobacco smoke from innumerable pipes, and applauding or condemning boisterously as the play touched or displeased them, it was as motley and queer an assemblage as could well be imagined. Yet no theater since established has given greater pleasure, or is remembered with greater satisfaction. An anecdote comes down from the period, which is worth repeating. During the performance of a blood-curdling melodrama in one of the Denver theaters, the "heavy villain" appeared suddenly upon the stage and, after the customary statement of his love and grievances, seized the innocent heroine and was about to carry her off, when a broad chested miner who had been watching the play with an earnestness which made it intensely real to him, strode up to the footlights and leveling his revolver, exclaimed, "No you don't, mister! you just drop that ere gal or I'll blow the top of your head off." It is unnecessary to state that his order was promptly obeyed.

Intermingled with the rougher element of the mountains, there were many cultured and scholarly men. The original bar of Gilpin County when crystallized in court embraced as keen intellects and as great legal attainments as have marked the profession in any stage of our progress.

Among the discoverers of great mines, that are still extraordinary producers of gold, was Harry Gunnell, a tall, finely proportioned and rather handsome young man, well bred, possessed of a fair education, a welcome guest everywhere, and therefore a general favorite. After searching ineffectually for some time, he struck the celebrated lode which took his name, and from comparative poverty was elevated to affluence, for the vein was exceedingly rich, and yielded largely from the outset. The transformation bewildered him by its amazing suddenness. A steady stream of gold poured in upon him, and being of a generous disposition, he lavished it with reckless extravagance upon boon companions in riotous living. In a few years everything vanished, and he was left a pauper. It is only one of many, yet it seems a more melancholy case in some of its aspects than any that has come under our observation.

In contrast, John Gregory, the mule driver, the father and founder of quartz mining in the Rocky Mountains, left for his home in Georgia, carrying over twenty-five thousand dollars in gold dust, the fruits of one season's industry.

In September a subscription paper was circulated through the streets of Auraria, and in a short time two hundred and fifty dollars were raised to build a schoolhouse. The Denver Town Company donated several building lots to the enterprise. Goldrick published a card in the "News," announcing to the people of both cities that on the 3d of October he would open a day school.

While no churches were built, there were zealous missionaries in the field; the first being the Rev. G. W. Fisher, of the Methodist denomination, and Rev. Jacob Adriance, of the Presbyterian.

It will be remembered that the project of constructing a transcontinental railway had been under consideration in and out of Congress, more especially in St. Louis, where it was persistently urged, from the date of John C. Fremont's explorations in 1842. In the session beginning in December it was anticipated that some definite action would be taken. In expectation that a bill would then be passed, Mr. Byers pub-

lished an editorial on the 24th of November, in which it was assumed that the route selected must necessarily pass from the Missouri River through the South Platte gold fields, and consequently through Denver. This point being determined, he proceeds to map out a feasible line to the westward, thus :

“From here westward the route may deflect a little to the northward, passing through the Cache la Poudre Pass of the Black Hills, crossing the Laramie plains and entering the great basin through Bridger's Pass ; or it may continue from here directly westward, entering the mountains by the Platte Cañon, following up that stream to the junction of the North and South Forks ; thence up the North Fork to the South Park, cross a low mountain summit, and thence down the waters of the Colorado into the heart of the great basin. This route we consider entirely practicable, presenting less obstacles—if we except the first fifteen miles after entering the Platte Cañon, and even they are not at all insurmountable—than have been overcome on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and traversing the gold field in the exact direction of the great leads, and its greatest known length, for a distance of not less than five hundred miles.” He contends that even at this early stage a single track railway between the river and Denver would secure the immense traffic of this region, and the cost of construction being insignificant in comparison with the ordinary expense of building through the States east of that stream, it would be largely profitable. But it was not to be. Before this gigantic enterprise could be undertaken, the country was to pass through the deluge of a stupendous war. Even while he wrote, fires were being lighted in the South that were to spread over the continent. It was only at the end of this mighty struggle that the government had time to contemplate any other matters than its own salvation. The route suggested by Mr. Byers was then examined, but not chosen.

Thus we close our account of the year 1859, and prepare to consider the next series of developments, industrial and political. It has been seen that with a mere handful of determined men, results that

shaped the destiny of all this great region were accomplished. In this brief interval of time events which led to revelations of supreme importance to the nation were evolved. Our lodgment here unquestionably influenced in no slight degree the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad. Our soldiers prevented the conquest of New Mexico, and the occupation of this region by the Southern Confederacy; our miners have contributed more than three hundred millions toward the extinction of the national debt, leaving millions more in reserve for the wants of commerce.

Moreover, a great central station has been established upon the Western plains, supported, enlivened and constantly expanded by systems of railway whose lines, after penetrating in their ramifications the widely diffused mining settlements of the Rocky Mountains, shoot westward to the Pacific Sea, southward to the Gulf of Mexico, eastward to the great water courses, and northward to the Territories founded there. A splendid commonwealth covers the desert of thirty years ago; the aboriginal inhabitants and their titles have been extinguished, their hunting grounds covered with cities and blossoming farms. The multiplied industries of progressive communities have supplanted the buffalo and the dusky warrior, peace and plenty dwell on every side, and the guiding hand of Providence is over all.

CHAPTER XVI.

1860—PROGRESS OF DENVER—CRYSTALIZATION OF BUSINESS—A CHAPTER OF HORRORS—DUEL BETWEEN LEW BLISS AND DR. STONE—ROMANTIC TRAGEDY IN FAIRPLAY—TOM WARREN CHALLENGES W. N. BYERS—CHARLEY HARRISON—JOHN SCUDDER KILLS P. T. BASSETT—BLOODY CAREER OF JAMES A. GORDON—FEARFUL RIOT IN LEAVENWORTH—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF GORDON—CARROLL WOOD'S ATTACK ON THE "NEWS" OFFICE—KILLING OF STEELE—EXPATRIATION OF THE GANG OF OUTLAWS.

In the early part of 1860, indeed, until midsummer, the main portion of the embryonic metropolis was limited to Blake and Wazee streets, with a few business houses and dwellings scattered along McGaa—(now Holladay), Fifteenth and Sixteenth (then F and G) Larimer, Lawrence and Arapahoe, the latter being the exterior boundary line in that direction. Auraria contained a much larger population, was more substantially built, and carried the wholesale, with a material part of the retail traffic. The principal resort on the east side was a large frame building, originally of logs, known far and wide as Denver Hall, later known as the Elephant Corral, and just west of the building now occupied by the Palace Theater (a standing menace to society, of a character more dangerous and polluting if possible than the primitive gambling hell), where thousands of immigrants were attracted to their demoralization and ruin. It was here that Horace Greeley delivered his fatherly address to the people of "Pike's Peak," standing behind a table from which the cards and other devices had been temporarily removed to afford him the opportunity. Saloons were on every side, the favorite haunts of desperadoes and abandoned women,

from whose doors crime stalked with a bold front to spread death and destruction upon the streets.

Larimer assumed a degree of importance from the fact that James M. Broadwell had built upon the corner now occupied by the Tabor Block, the largest hotel in the city, which became the headquarters of the better element. On F and Larimer, where now stands in tasteful majesty the "Pioneer Block," stood a row of cheaply built one-story frame houses, occupied in part as gambling dens, the principal one devoted to Spanish monte. Tents and covered wagons filled all the available places, lined the banks of Cherry Creek, and stretched far down the Platte, where at night hundreds of campfires gleamed among the cottonwoods. The "News" office stood near the center of Cherry Creek at the McGaa street crossing.

On the 5th of March a man named Conklin gave a dinner at the Broadwell House to a large number of his friends, Dr. J. S. Stone, a member of the Provisional Legislature, being one of the guests. When the hour for toasts arrived, Lew Bliss, Secretary, and in the absence of Mr. Steele, acting Governor of the Territory, intentionally but in execrable taste, offered one which cast serious reflections upon the fair fame of Dr. Stone, whereupon, calling Capt. W. H. Bates to his side, he arose and left the room. The effect of this ghastly specter upon the company can be more easily imagined than described. Bliss, anticipating the result, selected Edward W. Wynkoop as his second. The challenge came promptly, and was immediately accepted. At three o'clock on Wednesday the combatants met on the ground chosen, opposite the city on the north side of the Platte. A great crowd assembled to witness the bloody proceeding. Drake McDowell, son of the celebrated Dr. Alexander McDowell, of St. Louis, acting as master of ceremonies, read the articles of agreement framed by the seconds and adopted by the principals, whereby the weapons were to be shot guns, and the distance thirty paces. At the word of command Stone fired an instant in advance of his adversary, at the discharge of whose gun

he fell to the ground mortally wounded, the ball having entered his left thigh, penetrating the bladder, and passing through his body.

The victim of this unholy practice lingered in great agony until the 10th of October, and then passed to his account.

The records of Park County contain the details of a duel in which a just retribution overtook the principal offender. Two Texans named respectively Pemly and Sanford, who had been playmates in boyhood, classmates in college and firm friends after graduation, met there in mortal combat. It appears that Sanford won the affections of Pemly's only sister, then ruined and deserted her. Knowing the consequences, he fled to Australia. Pemly discovered his trail and followed it, but when he arrived his enemy had shipped to New Zealand. Still the pursuer kept close upon his track, tracing him to Frazier River, to California and finally to Fairplay. Here the fugitive no doubt considered himself so entirely secluded as to be beyond the reach of vengeance, but he was mistaken. One morning while at work in a gravel pit, he looked up and there stood Pemly, with rifle to shoulder, prepared to kill. Sanford, recognizing his doom, shouted, "Give me a chance!" which was granted. He came up out of the pit when the preliminaries were soon arranged. The weapons used were rifles at the distance of thirty paces. At the first fire both fell, Sanford shot through the heart, Pemly falling from the shock of a scalp wound. The miners assembled in court, Pemly explained the circumstances, and was instantly acquitted.

November 17th, 1859, Thomas Warren, one of the noted men of Denver, challenged William N. Byers to meet him on the "field of honor," incited by a notice which had appeared in the "News," and which he deemed offensive, though it had no reference to him, but attacked one of his friends. Those were turbulent times, when the editor, if true to his conviction of duty, fully expected and rarely failed to be called to account for the publication of unwelcome truths. Byers had been frequently threatened with assassination, and the utter demolition of his office. In declining the challenge to step out and be

slain, he wrote: "To any one who may feel like calling us out, we have only to remark that you are wasting your time in sending us challenges or other belligerent epistles. You may murder us, but never on the so-called field of honor, under the dignified name of a duel." In common with the supporters of order, he regarded the practice with horror as a relic of barbarism from the dark ages, and, in conclusion, declared that the man who upheld it was more fit to live among savages than under a government controlled by law. The message was not repeated.

The entire summer of 1860 was marked by trails of blood. A wild frenzy seemed to pervade the brutalized class, stimulated by the villainous compounds dealt out from the bars. Such scenes became so frequent as to attract little attention, except when especially atrocious. The crack of pistols and rifles was heard at nearly all hours of the day and night. A powerful vigilance committee, composed of the better citizens had been formed, and in the absence of courts assumed the power of a People's Tribunal, hearing testimony, and pronouncing judgment. The recognized leader of the desperate crew was a young man named Charley Harrison, a Southerner by birth. The day after the author's arrival, meeting an acquaintance whom he had known in Central New York, and who claimed some intimacy with Harrison, he was shown a revolver with which it was asserted Harrison had killed five men, here and elsewhere, and he was then only at the beginning of his career. July 12th he shot a Mexican negro named Stark, for which he was tried, but acquitted on the plea of self-defense.

On the 13th of March William Young, of Leavenworth, deliberately killed his friend and companion, Moses West, with a shotgun loaded with buckshot. The murderer was arrested by William E. Sisty, deputy Sheriff, tried by the Vigilantes, convicted and hanged the next day.

At the close of the same month Jack O'Neill, of Auraria, was killed by John Rooker. The first proposition by O'Neill, after the quarrel which they felt could only be settled by the death of one or

both, was, that they lock themselves up in a dark room and fight it out with knives. Rooker declined, which only increased the bitterness, and terminated in the assassination of his adversary.

On the 16th of April, 1859, John Scudder shot and killed Peleg T. Bassett. Bad blood had existed between them for some time, and Bassett lost no opportunity to traduce his enemy. Reports of his slanders were conveyed to Scudder, whereupon he went to Bassett's cabin after nightfall, knocked at the door, and Bassett appearing, he was asked if he had circulated the statements, which he at first denied, but his anger rising, finally admitted. He then, according to the testimony, raised a billet of wood and advanced upon Scudder, whereupon the latter fired and inflicted a mortal wound. The immediate cause of the difficulty grew out of bitter contentions between the rival towns, Denver and Auraria. By the advice of friends, who apprehended mob violence, Scudder fled to Salt Lake City. Some months later, when the excitement had passed and the incident was forgotten in the still more violent scenes which ensued, Scudder returned and voluntarily surrendered himself for trial. The prosecution was represented by W. P. McClure and the defendant by H. P. Bennett, A. C. Ford and John C. Moore. The prisoner was acquitted on the plea of self-defense, clearly established.

But perhaps the most remarkable incident in the long train of horrors that disgraced this or any other era, was a tragedy in several acts by James A. Gordon, commonly known as "Jim Gordon," a bright and rather handsome young man, with light flaxen hair, a clear and fresh complexion, deep blue eyes, tall and well proportioned frame, and just arrived at the threshold of manhood. This description fitted him when sober. Under the influence of liquor he became a crazy fiend, capable of devilish crimes, and utterly uncontrollable. He belonged to the class known as sporting men, and was part owner of the Cibola drinking saloon. On the evening of July 18th he began a protracted spree, and being heavily armed proceeded to create disturbances wherever he went. His first adventure of consequence was the

shooting of a harmless young man whom he met in a disreputable house on Arapahoe street. During that night and the two days following he instituted a veritable reign of terror. On Friday night he was unusually quarrelsome, visiting all the saloons and drinking recklessly. In Denver Hall, crowded as usual with gamblers, he began firing his pistol at whatever or whomsoever attracted his attention. From thence he entered a neighboring saloon, where his first act was to shoot a dog that crouched by his master's side. He then crossed into Auraria, visiting a bar-room and calling for whisky for himself and two companions, which was no sooner swallowed than the glasses were hurled upon the floor as a prelude to another scene of blasphemy and boisterous demonstration. The inmates, frightened by the unprecedented exhibition, fled from the room. A German named John Gantz stood at one corner of the bar. Gordon, in his blind rage, struck him in the face, knocking him down. He rose and rushed to the street. Gordon followed, caught and dragged him back, beating him about the head with his revolver. Then seizing him by the hair with his left hand, while Gantz lay upon the floor, he shot and killed him. Sobered by the awful deed the trio fled, Gordon going in the direction of Fort Lupton. The next day an armed posse led by a man named Babcock, started in pursuit. Arriving at the fort and learning that the fugitive was within, it was put under guard and a messenger sent to Denver for reinforcements, but before their arrival the gates were thrown open, when Gordon, mounted on a fleet horse, dashed out, his belt filled with firearms. Brandishing a revolver about his head he plunged through the guard, defying them to shoot or follow him. As he galloped away several shots were fired after him, but without effect. Three men, among them Babcock, pursued on horseback. The latter, after a chase of ten miles, came within shooting distance and fired, disabling Gordon's horse, and it was thought severely injuring the rider. Dismounted, he pushed toward the Indian Territory on foot. Another party with fresh horses kept the trail for some distance, but were unable to overtake him.

On Monday evening the Vigilance Committee met, and after hearing the reports from the field, dispatched W. H. Middaugh, who volunteered for the undertaking, after the assassin. He went to Leavenworth, procured a warrant, was appointed a deputy sheriff, and, with a regular deputy named Armstrong, started again upon the trail, tracking the fugitive from point to point through the wilds of Indian Territory, and finally captured him. He was taken to Leavenworth and turned over to the authorities for trial.

Court convened, the cause was heard and the prisoner released on the flimsy pretext of no jurisdiction. This astounding result created intense excitement among the large class of Germans who were familiar with the crime.

A turbulent mob surrounded the building and filled the court room, and when the decision was made known their anger passed all bounds. From a shouting crowd it became a body of frantic rioters. Yells of "Kill him!" "Hang him!" "Shoot him!" were heard on every side. The mayor summoned a posse, surrounded the prisoner, and marched him to the city prison for safety. Down into the surging tempest they went and slowly made their way, but resisted at every step. The prisoner was no sooner landed in jail than the rioters surrounded it, beating upon the doors for admission. Meantime, combustibles had been collected, and soon the red light of a great bonfire burst upon the scene. The crowd danced, howled, and loaded the air with imprecations against the authorities who had robbed them of their vengeance. Reinforcements, armed with muskets, carbines, shotguns, knives and clubs, flocked to the grounds. Others brought hempen ropes with nooses fixed for lynching. The mayor, appalled by the turn of events endeavored to pacify them by conciliatory speeches, but without avail. He might as well have attempted to calm a raging sea lashed by a cyclone. It was finally agreed between himself and the leaders that if he would turn the prisoner over to Middaugh the tumult should cease. Gordon was brought out and delivered to the officer who captured him. Now the tempest broke forth with a violence that could not be

restrained. The mob rushed upon Gordon, with cries of "Kill him!" "Hang him!" But the officers, Armstrong and another deputy who joined Middaugh, were equal to the responsibility. Several times halters were thrown over the prisoner's head, but each time the rope was cut. A fierce struggle ensued in which Gordon's clothes were ripped clean from his body, leaving him entirely nude, and the officers were severely injured. At length they succeeded in reaching the Planter's House, and paused there a moment, but it was instantly surrounded, and the demands for the prisoner renewed. At this point a company of United States troops appeared, demanded the prisoner, and received him. He was then taken to the military prison. The officers refusing to surrender Gordon to Middaugh, the latter took coach for Denver, where letters and testimony showing the appalling nature of his crime were at once prepared, and with these Middaugh returned to Leavenworth, and after a show of reluctance Gordon was given into his custody. He returned with him to Denver, and surrendered him to Sheriff Kehler. The next step was the organization of a court for the trial. Meanwhile Gordon was placed under a strong guard of deputies, and lodged in a building on G street near Holladay. He was heavily ironed, hands and feet, with a log chain about his waist. A meeting of citizens to discuss the case was held upon a pile of lumber under a large cottonwood tree on G street just below Wazee.

One of the hardest characters in the town, Tom Warren, the same who challenged Byers, became Gordon's champion, exerting himself unremittingly in his cause. As Dick Whitsitt was equally zealous on the side of law and order, a collision occurred between them, when Warren challenged Whitsitt. He accepted at once, but through the intervention of Mr. Sagendorf and other friends, the fight was prevented.

The court convened in front of the Tremont House, being in readiness, with A. C. Hunt as presiding judge, Charles Bartlett and Charles Pierson as associates; the prisoner with his counsel, J. H. Sherman, Ham. R. Hunt, S. W. Waggoner, W. P. McClure and John



E. M. Bell

C. Moore were summoned before it. H. P. Bennett, James T. Coleman and Jacob Downing conducted the prosecution. After a long and impartial examination, the case was submitted to the jury and a verdict of guilty returned. The judges stood upon the balcony of the Tremont House and announced the result to Gordon, who stood upon the ground below. Judge Hunt then sentenced him to be hanged the following Saturday afternoon. The cause for this unusual leniency was a statement that Gordon's mother was on the way to be with her erring son in his last hours, and would arrive before that time.

Was there ever a case of this nature which did not elicit the tenderest sympathy of womankind? Apparently the more atrocious the crime the more profoundly sympathetic the feminine soul, and the more active its efforts to secure mercy for the culprit. In the present case the few that were here immediately circulated a petition for a reprieve, which, though unsuccessful, gave rise to much bitterness of feeling.

As a last resort, a meeting of Gordon's friends assembled. Judge Bennett being present, and called upon for an expression of his views, rehearsed the crime in all its enormity, the facts of the trial, the pursuit and capture, the testimony, etc., and admonished his hearers against any attempt to interfere with the course of justice, which put an end to further efforts for clemency.

Gordon was executed according to the sentence pronounced upon him, Middaugh at his request being the executioner. But this was not the finale of these tragic events.

Two or three years later, Middaugh, while on his way to the States, was shot and killed from an ambush near Julesburg by an enemy said to have been one of Gordon's friends who had sworn to avenge him.

The "News" as the advocate of the people, severely denounced the outrages so frequently perpetrated. There was no mincing of words, no ambiguous phrases designed to soften the effect of its blows. The language employed, though tempered by discretion, was unmistakable. A crisis had arrived, and measures must be taken to terminate the reign of disorder and bloodshed. Its attack upon Harrison for the

killing of Stark was especially pronounced. A mob of Harrison's friends, habitués of the notorious Criterion saloon, led by the desperado Carroll Wood, assembled, and having fortified their valor by frequent draughts of liquor, marched over to the "News" office, and entered. Wood, flourishing a pistol and uttering a volley of oaths, seized Mr. Byers by the collar, and thrusting the weapon into his face demanded that he go with them, and meet Harrison. Meanwhile, the employes of the office seized their fire arms, and calmly awaited the issue. Byers was taken to the Criterion, accompanied by his partners. Harrison was sent for and soon arrived, but manifested no signs of ill feeling; on the contrary, rather deprecated what had been done. After conversing pleasantly for a moment, Harrison motioned Byers toward the back door, as if for a private conference, but immediately opened it and told him to go. When Wood and his comrades discovered the ruse and the escape of their intended victim, they mounted horses and, armed with shot guns, galloped toward the "News" office, but prudently halted and concealed themselves behind a large cabin some two rods distant. A crowd assembled on the banks of Cherry Creek, attracted by the strange proceeding. One of Wood's lieutenants named George Steele, advanced to the door but did not enter, suspecting no doubt that the inmates, warned by the previous visit, were prepared to give him a warm reception. Returning to his chief, a hurried conference was held, after which Steele advanced a second time, mounted on Wood's horse. Passing the office to the bridge he turned suddenly and fired into the building, the ball entering the business office but without doing any damage. A moment later he fired a second time, the missile shattering a window pane. The printers returned the fire, sending two shots, one of which being well aimed, struck Steele in the shoulder, inflicting a severe wound. The desperado reeled under the shock, but retained his seat. Riding swiftly in the direction of Platte River, followed by a crowd, he shortly after reappeared in town and when at Bradford's Corner was shot and killed.

The excitement over this became universal, and the indignation

reached the fighting point. Wood and his followers, alarmed at the killing of Steele and the demonstrations against themselves, fled to the prairie but soon returned, when they were arrested. Many favored lynching, but more moderate counsels prevailed. Wood was put under guard and tried next day before A. C. Hunt, Judge of the People's Court, convened in a large unfinished building just back of the present Lindell Hotel. Mr. Byers was called and gave his evidence, which was fully confirmed by a number of witnesses. Speeches were made by Dr. Casto, Judge Purkins, H. P. Bennett and others, strongly advocating the preservation of law and order, but at the same time giving emphatic expression to the general resolve that such occurrences would be no longer tolerated.

The jury retired for consultation, and took a vote, when it was found that they stood eleven to one for conviction. The solitary juror who would not be convinced, remaining obdurate to the last, the facts were reported to the court, and there being no probability of an agreement, the case was referred to the people, by whom it was decided that since Wood had killed no one in this affray, but was a tough citizen on general principles, the best thing they could do was to banish him. Wood mounted his horse, and by order of the citizens was accompanied by the marshal and twenty-five men to the eastern limit of the city, directed to set his face toward the rising sun, and return no more.

With such a chapter of horrors in mind, including many others not yet related, is it surprising that the people were clamorous for some sort of stable government?

CHAPTER XVII.

1860—MEASURES FOR ORGANIZING THE TERRITORY—DIFFICULTY IN SELECTING A TITLE—VARIOUS NAMES PROPOSED—PROGRESS OF THE BILL IN CONGRESS—EFFORTS OF SCHUYLER COLFAX IN OUR BEHALF—OPPOSITION OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS DEFEATS THE BILL—POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN COLORADO—RETURN OF DELEGATE WILLIAMS—CONSOLIDATION OF AURARIA AND DENVER—HEAVY IMMIGRATION—DISCOVERY OF GOLD ON THE ARKANSAS RIVER—CALIFORNIA GULCH—INDIAN FORAYS—THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT—ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY—D. H. MOFFAT JR.—JOHN M. CHIVINGTON—CLARK & GRUBER'S COINAGE MINT—U. S. MAILS—DISCOVERY OF SILVER.

In January, 1860, there began in Congress a movement, which, though protracted eventually gave our people a fixed and stable government. Delegate Williams, though not recognized as one representing a State or Territory, was nevertheless admitted to the floor of the House, but without other privileges than those usually accorded to "lobby members," permitted by courtesy to lay his petitions before the members and privately solicit their co-operation. He had access also to the departments, where he made excellent use of his opportunities for urging upon the Postmaster-General the great need of mail service. On the 26th of February the Post Office committee of the House by vote authorized its Chairman, Schuyler Colfax, to report a measure which he had drawn, for expediting and cheapening the postal service between the Atlantic and Pacific States. It directed the Postmaster-General to advertise for proposals to carry the entire Pacific mail overland, embracing also proposals for supplying Denver and Salt Lake cities, by branch lines weekly from the main route.

At the same session the Senate passed a resolution, authorizing a

treaty to be made with the Indians for the lands embraced within the Territory occupied and known as the Pike's Peak region. Its committee on Territories had under consideration and agreed to report favorably, a bill to provide for the organization of the new Territory. But there were objections to the name of Jefferson because of a ruling or decision not to name Territories for the Presidents, as there were not enough to go round.

The chief difficulty lay, however, in the unsettled condition of the Kansas-Nebraska controversy. The contest over their admission as states had reached no conclusion ; therefore, until disposed of, nothing could be done for the later applicants. An attempt had been made in the senate to enlarge the boundary of the proposed state of Kansas so as to include the settled portion of Nebraska as far north as the Platte River, but it failed.

As stated, an organic act had been prepared by the chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, Senator Green, who had displaced Stephen A. Douglas. One of the perplexities which consumed much time was the name to be given the new aspirant from the Rocky Mountains. "Jefferson" they would not have. So the following list was presented to assist the committee in making a selection : "Tampa," "Idaho," "Nemara," "Colorado," "San Juan," "Lula," "Arapahoe," and—the saints defend us—"Weappollao." "Idaho" was chosen, and so inserted.

The House Committee also having a bill for the same purpose under consideration, wrestled long with a similar difficulty, but solved it by inserting "Tahosa," signifying Dwellers on the Mountain Tops. "Lafayette," "Columbus," "Franklin," "Idaho," and "Colona," the latter by Mr. Colfax, were also suggested. It was understood that either "Tahosa" or "Idaho" would be the permanent title.

Simultaneously, bills for the organization of Nevada, Dakota and Arizona were being digested. During the first week in April Senator Green reported measures for Idaho and Arizona, with the intention of calling them up early in May. The Kansas question was still under

debate, but it was generally conceded that its admission could not be much longer delayed, when the field would be clear for the other Territories. Mr. Colfax, then in the first bloom of his remarkable career, manifested enthusiastic interest in our bill, exerting his vast influence not only in this direction, but for the establishment of a regular postal service. With General Bela M. Hughes he called on the head of that department, and induced him to place Denver on the routes to be supplied, and then instituted measures for the requisite appropriations to carry it into effect.

One of the great propositions before this Congress was the construction of a Pacific railroad, and naturally every Pike's Peaker in Washington felt that if the bill passed, Denver would be named as the terminal point east of the Rocky Mountains. Indeed, it was so inserted in the bill, but stricken out by the committee in advance of its presentation.

Our bill for organization embraced the general formula used for Kansas and Nebraska, and the boundaries were substantially the same as those defined in our Provisional Constitution.

Early in May the bill to organize the Territory of "Idaho" was reported to the House.* But here a tornado struck it. Just prior to its introduction, Bingham of Ohio plunged a firebrand into that explosive assembly by reporting a bill to repeal that portion of the law passed by the legislature of New Mexico which recognized the existence of slavery in that Territory, and upon it called the previous question. The bill passed amid great confusion. The Southerners became so enraged at this new and unexpected assault upon their pet institution as to seek revenge by killing off all the other Territorial meas-

*Schuyler Colfax had been deeply interested in this particular organization from the first. January 24, 1859, he writes in a personal letter: "I have worked up the Territorial Committee (two-thirds bitterly pro-slavery) to recede from their former vote against the new Territory I proposed, and they will now report in favor of it. This is quite a success, as the President (Buchanan) was dead against it, openly and earnestly. But the committee, while reporting it, will put in pro-slavery provisions that we cannot vote for. You cannot imagine the devices of the slave power until you look it in the eye and watch its acts. They decided against my name (Colona), which I didn't altogether like myself, preferring 'Montana' or 'Centralia,' but the name doesn't matter."

ures by tabling them, ours among the number. But it was reported again at the first opportunity and made the special order for the last day of the week. Nevada came next, but was immediately laid upon the table. On Saturday Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania presented "Idaho," but in a somewhat different form, which provoked a long and heated debate, with the result that it went down under the storm of slaveholding opposition. Each measure contained the following proviso: "That whereas slavery has no legal existence in said Territory, nothing herein shall be construed to authorize or prohibit its existence therein."

The North was still compromising upon the dominant issue, gaining by gradual approaches the main object in view, the restriction of slavery to certain limits. But the thinly disguised olive branch was not accepted. All the bills were shelved, and there remained until the following winter. Political elements were in a high state of fermentation. Premonitions of the great contest in preparation were beginning to be felt and understood. The Charleston convention had adjourned, leaving the Democratic party torn to pieces by internal dissensions. Three candidates were in the field, and Abraham Lincoln had been nominated at Chicago with an enthusiasm never before witnessed in the history of political assemblies. The foundations of the great deep were broken up by the shuddering of the irrepressible crisis, and in a short time all Christendom felt the shock of our great civil war.

Congress having adjourned without providing any relief for this region, the people were on the verge of despair. The condition of affairs during the early summer had been lamentable. The Provisional government had not been accepted to any extent outside of Denver, and even here it was powerless to enforce its decrees. The chief reliance of the citizens lay in the Committee of Safety. The government had no money, was known to be illegal, and therefore was practically inoperative. On the 7th of August a new movement for state organization made its appearance, this time in Golden City. A convention met in Loveland's Hall; Dr. I. E. Hardy was called to the chair, and W. L.

Rothrock made Secretary. Addresses setting forth the need of a government that would govern were made by G. W. Purkins, W. P. McClure, H. P. Bennett and Albert D. Richardson. Then came the inevitable resolutions to this effect, that, whereas, Congress failed to respond to our appeal for protection, therefore, resolved that we will unite with our fellow-citizens of all portions of the gold region in the hearty support of any just, practical and uniform system of laws upon which the people will agree. Finally, they pledged themselves to unite with the gold region in forming a State government at the earliest practicable date. This action distinctly repudiated the Provisional machine.

But the people of Mountain City, more impulsive, went a step further. Unaccustomed to temporizing with public grievances, they met this emergency with characteristic boldness. A delegation of leaders assembled in Daniel Doyle's Hall,—which was a saloon where five cent whisky was dispensed at twenty-five cents a glass,—on the 30th day of July, a little in advance of the Golden meeting. Mr. Michael Storms took the chair, and C. C. Post the secretary's table. The speeches were eloquent, and the orators dramatic. The government was roundly denounced for its indifference to the petitions of this great and growing country. The resolutions declared among other things, that after long continued opposition to the Provisional government they were at last compelled to recognize it as better than no government at all, and therefore would not only lend it their sanction, but support it to the full extent of their power until a State or Territorial organization should be provided in regular form. They repudiated at one fell swoop all allegiance to the laws of Kansas, and declared that they would never submit to be included in that jurisdiction.

A call issued for a convention to be held in Denver, to frame a State constitution, with the added resolve to apply for *immediate* admission into the American Union, and, as a clincher, meant to be pasted in the Congressional hat, that "we will not cease our applications until such admission shall be granted."

All these and several other projects of like nature ended in smoke. The politicians having ventilated their sentiments, the ship of state resumed the regular order and drifted on without helm or keel, in the old way.

On the 18th of September Governor Steele issued his proclamation for another election of officers, members of the Legislative Assembly, etc., to be held October 22d. Notwithstanding the fact that the call neither asked nor contemplated an expression of sentiment respecting the Provisional Government, a large majority of the votes cast in Denver declared against it on general principles, but at the same time elected the regular ticket headed by Governor Steele.

September 22d the delegates chosen under the Mountain City call, assembled in Apollo Hall and proceeded to draft a constitution. It would be a waste of time to pursue this threadbare subject further. It is sufficient to say that the various projects soon came to nought through the regular organization by Congress in February, 1861.

The Provisional Legislature met November 20th, received the Executive message, and proceeded to the enactment of laws regular, irregular and special, as in its first session, strengthened perhaps by the more encouraging attitude of the mountaineers, but under a distinct repudiation at home, as shown by the popular, though unauthorized vote.

Delegate Williams returned from Washington August 20th, and was cordially welcomed. Though not according to the measure of the popular desire, it is undeniable that he accomplished as much as any representative could have done under the circumstances, which have been explained. He laid the groundwork, so to speak, for a legal organization, leaving the proposition in shape to be reopened and fully consummated at the next session. The bills were presented too late for definite action, if opposed. He succeeded, however, in promoting to an issue by the aid of Mr. Colfax, arrangements for transporting the mails weekly from Julesburg. The coach which bore him to Denver brought also the first instalment of letters and papers, to the infinite gratification of the people.

During the last week in March, a mass meeting was held in Auraria to consider a proposition for the consolidation of the two cities. A. C. Hunt presided, with A. Jacobs as Secretary. Andrew Sagendorf presented a resolution embodying the general sentiment to the effect that the twain were, and ought to be declared one, and that henceforth Auraria should be known as Denver City, West Division. The Board of Directors was authorized to change the name on the plat in accordance with this expression, reserving the right to make its own municipal regulations, hold the title to the town site as before, and maintain its organization as a town company. A few days later the citizens of the now united Denver met upon the bond of union, the Larimer street bridge, where the resolutions were ratified, and numberless congratulations exchanged.

Great waves of immigrants poured in during the spring and summer, far exceeding the increment of 1859, unequaled indeed, in the history of the West, with the single exception of the California period. It was estimated in the month of May there were no less than eleven thousand wagons upon the plains moving toward Denver. It will be understood that a considerable proportion were merchandise trains, but a large majority were the conveyances of emigrants, each attended by from three to eight persons. It seemed as if half the population of Iowa, with immense numbers from Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas had emigrated. The processions thronged the principal thoroughfares, with only here and there intervals of a few miles between the companies. Thousands came to this city, but went no further. Some remained and became fixed residents; others engaged in farming; hundreds, resolved to see the mines, took the trails to the mountains where they located or returned, according as the prospect seemed favorable or otherwise.

In March gold bearing gravel beds of considerable magnitude were prospected with satisfactory results, on the Arkansas River below California Gulch, where Kelly's or Cherokee district was organized. A Denver party which left here February 15th, passed through Colorado City, thence by way of Ute Pass to the point named, and assisted in

the ceremonies. But the ground was frozen, and the pay dirt had to be thawed before it could be washed. Even under this disadvantage some of the miners realized from two to five dollars per day with small rockers. The gold was fine, bright and pure, in thin scales like that found on Cherry Creek and the Platte. This intelligence spread among the settlements, causing the customary stampede. These diggings were, as a matter of fact, discovered late in the fall of 1859, the secret being preserved until spring.

About the 25th of April much excitement arose from the reported discovery by S. S. Slater & Co., of very rich deposits in a gulch twenty miles above Kelly's Bar, and which, owing to the immediate influx of a large number of Californians, took the name of California Gulch. Whilst the snow was very deep, the work done indicated that beneath the thick white covering lay one of the richest placers in the Rocky Mountains, which subsequent developments fully verified. The gulch is ten miles in length by fifty to one hundred feet in width, and at the time was filled with clay and decomposed quartz containing gold, the mass when penetrated, being of the consistency of soft mortar intermixed with hard quartz, iron pyrites and fragments of volcanic scoria and iron ore. It resembled the decompositions found at the surface of the Gregory, Gunnell and other lodes, and admirably adapted to washing by the same methods there employed. Overlying the pay dirt was a layer of native cement or "hard pan," a conglomerate of cemented gravel and scoria, from six to eighteen inches thick. The water course in favorable seasons was about equal to supplying five or six lines of sluices. Prospected, the material yielded an average of fifteen cents to the pan, much of the product being in coarse nuggets somewhat discolored by iron stains, but the finer particles were clean and bright. The discoverers were T. L. Currier, S. S. Slater, A. Lee, Mr. Stevens and two others. During the first season some of the better claims yielded \$50,000 to \$60,000 each. A number of the largest and most valuable nuggets known to the country were taken out. When the extent and value of these mines became known, thousands went over and

formed a great settlement there at the lower end of the gulch. This, with the discoveries in Georgia and French Gulches and other places on the Blue, that were duly reported in the eastern press, caused the large immigration of this year.

Undoubtedly California was the richest placer ever opened in the Rocky Mountains, and produced greater quantities of the precious metal. It was here that Senator Tabor received his primary lesson in the science of mining, though his fortune was delayed until 1879, when the Leadville blanket veins opened their treasures to him.

Returning to the valley once more, on the 17th of May a large war party of Arapahoes came to Denver from an expedition against the Utes in the valley of the Rio Grande, rejoicing in the possession of four or five scalps and a large number of ponies taken from their hereditary foes. They went into camp on the bluffs across the Platte and began a series of scalp dances in celebration of their victory. The following day they were joined by other bands of the same tribe. Anxious to display the fruits of their prowess before the multitude of pale faces, they formed in procession with drums beating and banners flying, and marched into town, where they gave exhibitions upon the public streets to the edification and amusement of the populace. At least one thousand savages were in and about the city at that time. Nor were they always friendly and peaceable, except when overawed by superior force, as here.

Numerous petty depredations were committed upon isolated settlers though nothing very serious transpired. From six to ten thousand Indians, Sioux, Comanches, Apaches, Arapahoes, Cheyennes and Kiowas hovered about the Arkansas below Pueblo, but no difficulties were reported except when vicious white men furnished them whisky.

It was soon made apparent that the two races could not dwell together in harmony, and that unless the government should take early measures for the removal of the red men, ugly consequences were unavoidable. June 10th, about five hundred allies composed of the various tribes encamped about the city, set out for a general assault

upon the Utes in their stronghold, the South Park. Jim Beckwourth and Kit Carson, who had arrived from New Mexico a few days previous, advised them against the contemplated foray, but they could not be swerved from their purpose. On one of the forks of the Platte in the southern edge of the Park they surprised a camp of Utes, killing a number of women and children, and taking four little boys prisoners. The Utes soon rallied, attacked the allies and drove them out in great confusion. On their return the allies, feeling themselves secure from immediate danger, halted beside a spring, and after refreshing themselves, lighted their pipes for a quiet smoke. But every movement had been watched by their crafty enemies who, seeing their advantage, swept down upon them with savage yells, and by the slaughter that ensued amply avenged the surprise themselves had suffered.

When the allies returned to Denver, as they did in hot haste, they presented about as complete a picture of a defeated and thoroughly demoralized army of redskins as ever was seen. Being present on that occasion I observed with some surprise that there were a great many wounded, and that most of them had been shot in the back with arrows (but few of any tribe possessed rifles or other firearms). A sullen gloom had settled upon the entire encampment, in striking contrast to the rather jubilant spirit which animated them on their departure for the battlefield.

The chief sent for Kit Carson, who promptly responded, when a conference was held in an unfinished frame building at the lower end of Sixteenth street. The great explorer reminding them of his warning, had few words of comfort for them, though listening patiently to their rather lengthy account of their unfortunate adventure. The interview lasted an hour or more, after which the crowd called Carson out and he rehearsed the battles as related to him. In the course of the story he remarked sententiously that when two bands of Indians got to fighting it didn't make much difference to white people which whipped.

The captive children were taken from them by the authorities.

One was adopted by Richard E. Whitsitt; what became of the others I am unable to state. For some days afterward the dismal lamentations of the women were heard from the tepees down among the cottonwoods, bewailing the loss of their braves and the disasters attending their ill-timed expedition.

As the year advanced the elements began to crystalize into distinct charitable, religious, educational, and social orders. The Ladies' Union Aid Society took the initiative, with Mrs. Byers as President, Miss E. C. Miles, Secretary, and Miss F. C. Miles, Treasurer. January 21st an informal gathering of Episcopalians occurred, L. Badollet presiding, with the view of establishing a society, and with the ultimate aim of building some kind of a house of worship. After prayer by the Rev. J. H. Kehler, a venerable patriarch in the cause, a committee of thirteen was appointed to make temporary arrangements for holding service the following Sunday, and from this beginning sprang St. John's Church in the Wilderness, now a large and flourishing congregation with an imposing cathedral. The first church of this society, a small and extremely modest structure, occupied the corner of Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets, where now stands the Haish Manual Training School of the Denver University.

It is well, perhaps, in view of his subsequent association with historic events, to mention *en passant* that on the 17th of March Mr. David H. Moffat, Jr., arrived from Omaha with a wagonload of books and stationery, and withal quite skillfully engineering a sore footed mule team. The stock was exposed for sale in a not very pretentious building on Ferry street, West Denver, opposite the old Vasquez House. The journalists of the period, delighted with this literary acquisition, took early occasion to scrape acquaintance with Mr. Moffat, and to assure the public through their papers that they would find him a gracious and accommodating gentleman.

May 7th Miss Indiana Sopris opened a select school on Ferry street, and on the same date "Professor" Goldrick, with Miss Miller as

assistant, began a course of juvenile instruction in the then well established Union School.

On the 19th of the same month, Rev. John M. Chivington, presiding elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church North for the Rocky Mountain District, Kansas and Nebraska Conference, made his first appearance upon a scene in which he was destined to assume roles then undreamt of. He began at once with irresistible energy to institute a thorough system of church work, with results that will appear in the progress of this history.

On the 23d arrived Messrs. Lee, Judd & Lee with the famous Black Hawk quartz mill, which became the leading pulverizer of its class, and, as reconstructed years afterward by Jerome B. Chaffee,—then with Eben Smith, the owner and manager of a separate mill located in Lake Valley—is still the largest and perhaps the finest that has been erected in this country.

June 2d the Jefferson Medical Association was founded, Dr. Drake McDowell in the chair.

July 20th Clark, Gruber & Co. opened a coinage mint, the only one we ever possessed, upon the spot and in the building now owned and used as an assay office by the Federal government, at the corner of Sixteenth and Holladay streets. Only ten dollar gold pieces were struck. These coins were of pure gold taken from the neighboring mines, bearing upon the face a well engraved representation of Pike's Peak, at its base a forest of pines, and beneath the legend, "Pike's Peak Gold," and below this the words "Denver" and "Ten D." On the reverse side the American eagle, encircled by "Clark, Gruber & Co.," and beneath, the date "1860." Some thousands of these coins were issued, but they are rare curiosities now, and worth to numismatists many times their face value. Other mints were established in the gold regions, one in Georgia Gulch, and another in Tarryall, in both of which the gold was coined into slugs as taken from the ground. It contained more or less silver, but no alloys were used.

August 1st Rev. A. T. Rankin arrived to establish the Presbyte-

rian Church. His initial sermon was delivered in the hall over Graham's drugstore, on the east bank of Cherry Creek (opposite the present City Hall), on Sunday, the 12th.

The first United States mail arrived August 10th, to the general rejoicing, though it was then unknown whether its transmission was intentional and to be continuous, or only accidental. About the same time J. S. Langrishe came down from Laramie to engage the Apollo Theater for a season of dramatic entertainments.

During the summer the mining excitement received new impetus from reported discoveries of silver in the Gregory district, on the Blue, near the head waters of the Platte, and in divers other localities. Miners in Georgia Gulch frequently took from their toms and sluices small pieces of apparently pure silver, intermixed with the coarse gold. This was especially true of the Fairplay and Buckskin Joe diggings, and naturally awakened new interest in the already brilliant prospects for the future.

In November the Western Union Telegraph was extended west to Fort Kearney, with the design of completing it to Salt Lake and California. Press telegrams and private messages were brought thence to Denver by coach. Those for the East were transmitted by D. H. Moffat, the telegraph agent.

Late in the fall, through the circulation of sensational reports, a rush was made for the San Juan Mountains, where it was said some valuable mines had been found. All who undertook the hazardous journey suffered severely, and some men lost their lives in the snows which fell to great depths.

Toward the close of the year the Denver Chamber of Commerce was organized, with Frank J. Marshall as President. Like many other associations formed in this memorable year, it was short lived.

A census of the population taken in the autumn returned a total of about 48,000 souls within the Territory of Jefferson. The incoming tide diminished rapidly after July, its height having been reached in June. From that time there was a steady outpouring of disen-



O. R. Burchard

gaged pilgrims who had been unwilling or unable to abide in the wilderness. When the waves receded only a fraction remained to hold and develop the empire it had conquered. Henceforth there were few material accessions of permanent strength until the arrival of the first railway in 1870.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1861—ORGANIZATION OF THE TERRITORY OF COLORADO—DEBATES IN THE SENATE AND HOUSE—OVERSHADOWING INFLUENCE OF THE SLAVERY QUESTION—STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS VEHEMENTLY OPPOSES THE BILL—SYNOPSIS OF HIS ARGUMENTS—PASSAGE OF THE ORGANIC ACT—OFFICERS APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN—ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR GILPIN—PUBLIC MEETINGS—CENSUS OF THE POPULATION—ORGANIZATION OF THE SUPREME COURT—BENCH AND BAR—UNION OR DISUNION—MOBILIZATION OF TROOPS—GILPIN'S DRAFTS ON THE NATIONAL TREASURY—THEIR FINAL PAYMENT—BIOGRAPHY OF OUR FIRST GOVERNOR.

February 2d, 1861, Senator James S. Green of Missouri, moved to take up the bill organizing the Territory of "Idaho" for the purpose of having it placed upon the files as unfinished business. On the 4th it was explained that a slight change of boundary had been made, and the same, with some minor amendments having been accepted, Senator Wilson of Massachusetts moved to amend the name of the Territory by striking out "Idaho" and inserting "Colorado." This was done at the suggestion of Delegate Williams, for the reason that the Colorado River arose in its mountains, hence there was a peculiar fitness in the name. The amendment being agreed to, the new name was inserted, when the bill passed.

The next day Mr. Nicholson of Tennessee moved a reconsideration of the vote on the passage of the bill, but after some discussion further proceedings were deferred until the 6th, when Stephen A. Douglas opened a general debate upon the slavery question by moving to take up the motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill to organize the Territory of Colorado was passed. Thereupon Benjamin Wade of Ohio arose with an emphatic protest. The bill

had passed, been sent to the House for its action, and therefore was beyond reach of reconsideration. But Mr. Douglas was not to be deprived of another opportunity to overhaul and dissect the entire subject of the organization of new Territories, until the paramount issue of slavery involved in every measure of that nature should be fully discussed and adjusted. He felt that the Senate had acted discourteously, to put it mildly, in taking advantage of his temporary absence from the Chamber, and thereby preventing him from offering a substitute for the pending bill, on which he was entitled to the floor. The substitute, he explained, embraced a provision allowing the people to elect such officers as were not Federal, but purely Territorial in their duties, but when in the act of presenting it he was called out, and before he could return the bill had passed. It irritated his pride to realize that both sides of the Senate should have come to an agreement upon the political and judicial features of this measure without his knowledge or consent, hence he determined to have it recalled.

This awakened Senator Green, who announced that the bill as passed was very simple in its provisions, containing nothing which infringed upon anybody's peculiar views. But Mr. Douglas was not to be pacified, and vehemently renewed his motion. While Mr. Wade was not unreservedly favorable to the bill, it was, nevertheless, a compromise on which both parties had agreed, and for that reason he voted for it. Again Mr. Douglas inveighed passionately against the compromise for the sole reason, apparently, that it had been effected without his knowledge. He objected also to the change of boundary, because it cut off a large portion of New Mexico, and annexed it to Colorado. The land titles of that portion were derived from the Republic of Mexico, the inhabitants were mostly Mexicans, governed by laws and usages totally foreign, and incompatible with those made by and for Americans. Again, by the laws of New Mexico, that had been made slave territory; slavery existed there at that moment, and by detaching that portion of slave territory, a strip of country occupied by people of Mexican birth

and habits, identified with the old country and not with Colorado, there could be no such thing as proper assimilation. "Is the effect of this bill to abolish slavery in that part of the territory thus cut off, and make it free territory?" he asked. "Is that the compromise that has been made?" If so, he was not disposed to interfere. But "I find that after it is cut off, a peculiar provision is inserted that the Territorial Legislature (of Colorado) shall pass no law destroying the rights of private property. What is the meaning of that? Does it mean that the Territorial Legislature shall pass no law whereby the right to hold slaves according to the laws of New Mexico shall be abolished? Is that the object? Certainly there is some object in inserting that provision. If it had been the result of a compromise by which the Republican side agreed that this slave territory shall be incorporated into the other territory, and that the legislature shall never exclude slavery from it, I do not wish to interfere with it."

But this was not all. He had still another objection which was, in effect, that in providing that the legislature should pass no law destructive of the rights of private property, it was thereby deprived of the power to lay out roads railroads, or any description of highway. He had encountered opposition for years to the Kansas-Nebraska bill on the ground that the people should not be permitted to elect their own local officers. In his substitute for the Colorado bill he had provided that they should elect such of their officers as were Territorial, and have the President and Senate appoint only such as were Federal, etc.

Senator Green replied to Mr. Douglas and his substitute, denying that any discourtesy was intended or implied. He declared his purpose to vote against reconsideration. Respecting the objection to the strip taken from New Mexico, said he, "It does not cut off five inhabitants, and not a single nigger. The idea, therefore, of throwing slave property into a new organization where it is doubtful whether it will be protected or not, 'is all in my eye.' Now, Mr. President,

here are Union loving and Union saving people petitioning for 36° 30', to be the line between slave and non-slaveholding territory. The line of this Territory is 37°. This bill does not prohibit slavery anywhere, and it does not establish slavery anywhere; it is a perfect *carte blanche*, without expression on the subject either way." The power to elect officers was opposed solely because the administration according to all precedents since Jackson's time, should enjoy the patronage. Besides, the privilege would give the Territories a larger degree of independence than it was safe to permit, bringing them, in fact, too near the exalted dignity of statehood.

Mr. Wade took the floor, and declared in so many words that the bill to organize the Territory of Colorado was the result of a compromise between the slavery and anti-slavery divisions of the senate. It was a well-known fact, he said, that the two sides of the chamber differed on the provisions of the bill. They could not organize it upon the principles that either party held, yet it was very essential that some form of government be provided. The contestants could not agree in carrying out the principles they maintained, for one side desired to make it a slave Territory, while the other insisted upon a prohibitory clause. Finally, they agreed to say nothing about slavery one way or the other. In this form it had been submitted to the senate and passed without controversy, the only way it could have been passed.

Toward the last Senator Gwin of California sustained the motion to reconsider, because he wanted to abstract the name out of the bill and give it to Arizona. He unhesitatingly affirmed that it was "the handsomest name that could be given to any Territory or State," and he desired to have it stricken out so that it might be presented as a supreme compliment to the newer candidate. Senator Gwin was disappointed. The motion to reconsider was refused; yeas, 10, nays, 31.

On the 9th of February the House passed the senate bill with an amendment offered by Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania, to the

clause relating to the courts, as a further concession to the sensitiveness of the South, which read as follows: "Except only that in all cases involving titles to slaves, the said writs of error or appeal shall be allowed and decided by the said Supreme Court without regard to the value of the matter, property or title in controversy; and except also that a writ of error or appeal shall also be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States from the decision of the said Supreme Court created by this act or of any judge thereof, or of the district courts created by this act, or of any judge thereof, upon any writ of *habeas corpus* involving the question of personal freedom."

Mr. Green moved to concur, which brought Mr. Douglas to his feet again with the remark that the amendment involved a very important principle in the Territorial system. So far as these bills were predicated on the principle of non-interference by Congress with the slavery question, he fully concurred in them. The pending bill appeared to have been based on the theory that the words "slavery" or "slave" should be stricken out wherever they appeared, and in pursuance of that theory they had stricken out in the first section the words, "and that when the said Territory shall be admitted into the Union as a State, it shall be received with slavery or without, as its constituents may prescribe at the time of admission." Then another provision had been inserted in the sixth section, to the effect that the Territorial Legislature shall pass no law abolishing or impairing the rights of private property. That would be understood by the senator from Missouri (Mr. Green) and others thinking with him as prohibiting such legislature from abolishing or prohibiting slavery. He could well conceive why the other side of the chamber were willing to make the decision of the Territorial courts final so long as they appointed the judges. They were to be appointed by Mr. Lincoln, and it was a natural presumption that therefore they would be in accord with the Republican theory of the slavery question. Judges would be appointed who held to the doctrine that there was no such thing as a right of property in slaves, hence the decisions on all matters involving such

right would be adverse to slavery. It was his desire to base these Territorial measures on sound principles which could be applied alike under a Republican or a Democratic administration. He felt that the law should stand as it was, giving an appeal to the Supreme court of the United States in such cases, instead of making the decision of the Territorial judges final, and depriving the party aggrieved of the right of appeal.*

After some further discussion, in every case reverting to the compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska controversy, a vote was taken, and the House amendment concurred in by twenty-six to eighteen. President Buchanan signed the bill on the 28th, when it became a law. He did not avail himself, however, of the opportunity thereby afforded to forestall his successor by appointing the officers. His mind was just then too deeply occupied with more important affairs.

On the 4th of March intelligence of the adopted organic act arrived in Denver. At this time Edward M. McCook was representing the County of Arapahoe in the Kansas legislature and Judge Morgan the people generally as a lobby member of Congress. March 22d the President sent the following nominations to the Senate :

*Schuyler Colfax writing of the matter, subsequently said: "They organized three Territories—Colorado, Nevada, Dakota—without a word about slavery in either of the bills, because, under a fair administration, which would not use its armies and its influence for slavery, and with Governors and judges who were not hostile to free principles, they felt willing to risk the issue and to waive a positive prohibition, which would have only inflamed the public mind, and thwarted the organization by a veto from Mr. Buchanan. To answer the clamor about Personal Liberty bills, they voted for a resolution in which Republicans as radical as Mr. Lovejoy joined, recommending the repeal of such as were not constitutional. To show that they had no designs on slavery in the States, as was so falsely charged upon them by their enemies, they voted unanimously that Congress had no right or power to interfere therein. When it was urged that possibly but seven slave States might remain in the Union, and that the North, with Pike's Peak—Colorado and Nebraska, might soon number twenty-one free States, and that then, by a three-fourths vote, the constitution might legally be so amended as to enable them to exercise that power, a large proportion of the Republicans aided in proposing to the States, as a proffer of peace, a constitutional amendment, declaring that under all circumstances the constitution shall remain on that question exactly as it came from the hands of Washington and Madison—unchangeable, thus assuring to the border States absolute protection against all interference. But when demands were made in the shape of the Crittenden and of the Border State Compromise, that it should be declared that in all Territories south of 36° 30', slavery should exist and slaves be protected as property irrespective of and even in opposition to the public will, by constitutional sanction, which should also be irrevocable, and that thus the constitution should absolutely prohibit the people of the Territories in question from establishing freedom, even if they unanimously desired it, the answer was, No !

For Governor—William Gilpin of Missouri.

For Secretary—Lewis Ledyard Weld of Colorado.

For Attorney General—William L. Stoughton of Illinois.

For Surveyor General—Francis M. Case of Ohio.

For Marshal—Copeland Townsend of Colorado.

For Judges of the Supreme Court—B. F. Hall of New York ; S. Newton Pettis of Pennsylvania, and Charles Lee Armour of Ohio, and they were immediately confirmed.

General William Larimer had been a candidate for Governor, and his claims were presented, but mainly through the influence of Frank P. Blair, then a prominent member of the House, Gilpin secured the prize.

Mr. Weld, a young lawyer of fine attainments, came out with the early emigrants, remained in Denver for a time, and then located in the Gregory mines with the intention of practicing law ; but when it was discovered that the Territorial organization would be granted, he left at once for the national capital to advance his aspirations to the office which he received. Townsend had been in business on Blake street and was well known to the people here and in the mines. The balance of the appointees were strangers.

On the 15th of April, anticipating the early arrival of the Governor elect, and considering it a solemn duty to accord him a hearty welcome ; rejoicing that here upon the eve of the threatened rebellion by the slaveholding States, presaging a possible dissolution of the Union, Congress had conceded a fixed and stable government, about which the loyal element might rally for its own defense and that of the constitution, the leading spirits called a meeting to be held in the City Council Chamber for the consideration of measures to that end. H. P. Bennett presided. A committee of arrangements was appointed, consisting of H. P. Bennett, Col. A. G. Boone, Amos Steck, R. B. Bradford, Charles A. Cook, T. J. Bayaud, Dr. Hobbs, A. C. Hunt, J. C. Moore, Edward Bliss, Thomas Gibson, Matt Taylor, Richard Sopris, William R. Shaffer, George T. Clark and J. B. Jones.

These gentlemen had ample time in which to perfect the most elab-

orate preparations for the event, since the Governor's arrival was postponed for nearly two months.

In the meantime, as the news from the east grew more and more exciting, public sentiment began to find expression upon the momentous issues distracting the country. The entire continent was beginning to feel the pulsations of the impending crisis. Toward the last of April a great Union mass meeting convened in front of the Tremont House and organized with Richard Sopris as Chairman and Scott J. Anthony as Secretary. Judge Bennett and other orators delivered speeches which awakened the depths of patriotism. In the general confusion there were many whose views had taken no distinct form. They were bewildered by the suddenness of the gigantic upheaval, but scarcely comprehending that it really meant a dissolution of the Union, a complete revolution of the order under which they had been bred and schooled. These men were aroused from their torpor and made to feel that they must instantly declare to themselves and their fellows where they stood upon the issues presented. It is needless to say that a very large majority declared for their country, one and indivisible. Among these were many staunch Democrats, who aligned themselves shoulder to shoulder with the most ardent Republicans, and thus the Union sentiment crystallized into a solid phalanx. Bennett, Slaughter, Wildman, Williams, Waggoner, Whitsitt and Hunt were appointed a committee to draft resolutions, which when formulated declared unfaltering devotion to the old flag and all it represented or implied. The chairman, Captain Sopris, sent this dispatch to President Lincoln :

"The eyes of the whole world are upon you ; the sympathies of the American people are with you ; and may the god of battles sustain the stars and stripes."

Like meetings were held in Central City, Boulder, and other points in the mountains, heralding fealty to the constitution and the laws, leaving no doubt that the youngest of the territories was in full accord with the oldest and most patriotic of the states.

On the 7th of May Marshal Townsend arrived, and on the 20th

Governor Gilpin. The same evening a reception was held at the Tremont House, which the greater part of the inhabitants attended. The hotel was illuminated and handsomely decorated with flags. Judge Bennett introduced His Excellency to the multitude from the balcony, saying, "We accept you as Governor of Colorado under the palladium of the Union and the principles of the Constitution. Our people, situated on the domain of the United States, having been, like the people of old, without law or protection, claimed for themselves the birthright of American citizens—the right of government—and so formed themselves under a protective system of legislation," referring to the Provisional scheme. It was hoped that the Governor would so construe the laws thus enacted as to give the people all the rights of liberty consistent with the fundamental law.

The Governor responded in a characteristic address of great length, reminding them that he had explored this region in 1843, and returning thanks "from a heart strong with profound emotions for the cordiality of their greeting." While traversing what is now Colorado and as far west as the Pacific, he had then regarded it as the most attractive and interesting section of "our glorious country," and was proud to return to it now as a legitimate representative of our constitutional government. He alluded briefly to the troubled condition of the Union, but felt that it would soon be amicably adjusted through the patriotism of the people.

Upon the advent of Governor Gilpin, his provisional predecessor Governor Steele, issued a proclamation in which, after announcing the changed status of affairs, he says, "I deem it but obligatory upon me by virtue of my office to 'yield unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's,' and I hereby command and direct that all officers holding commissions under me, especially all judges, justices of the peace, etc., etc., shall surrender the same, and from and after this date, shall abstain from exercising the duties of all the offices they may have held, and yield obedience to the laws of the United States, and do it by attending to their proper and legitimate avocations whether agriculture or mining." Done at Denver June 6th, 1861.

Handbills containing the proclamation were circulated in Denver and throughout the territory.

The first business in hand, by instruction of Congress was a census of the population. In September the official returns were published by the U. S. Marshal as follows:

White males over 21 years of age.....	18,136
Under 21 years of age.....	2,622
Females.....	4,484
Negroes.....	89
Total population.....	<hr/> 25,331

The enumeration for Denver returned less than three thousand, whereas the general estimate had been five thousand. Both results were disappointing. We had counted the hundreds coming in as thousands, but failed to take note of the outgoing throngs. The population was indisputably much lighter in 1861 than in 1860, for the reason that thousands had returned to the states, to join the Union or the Confederate forces, as their sympathies directed.

Governor Gilpin's first official act of record was to swear in the judges of the Supreme Court. Up to the first of July only Judges Hall and Pettis had arrived. The next was to organize the judicial districts and assign the judges. The first district comprised all the territory east of the meridian line passing through the town of Arapahoe; Court at Denver, Chief-Justice Hall.

The second district embraced all the territory west of the same meridian and north of the parallel of the town of Bradford; Court at Central City, S. Newton Pettis presiding.

The third district took in all the territory west of said meridian, and south of the parallel of the town of Bradford; Court at Cañon City, Charles Lee Armour, presiding.

The Governor made a general tour of the settlements, especially the mining regions, was everywhere cordially welcomed, and by his addresses produced a favorable impression.

On the 2d of August Secretary Weld felt it to be incumbent upon him to advise Secretary Seward of the state of affairs in the territory. He mentioned the fact that the officers had been received with much enthusiasm by the people, who hailed with delight their advent among them as the sure promise of relief from a disorganized and chaotic state of law and society from which they earnestly desired to be freed. Though separated by seven hundred miles of uninhabited plains from their homes in the states, the people were entirely loyal to the Union and the constitution, watching with the intensest anxiety the progress of events at the east, and earnestly and patiently applying themselves to the development of the resources of the soil and the mines of precious metals. Several of the officers had not arrived, and until they were on the ground it would be quite impossible to set the machinery of government in order. If much longer delayed, he suggested the propriety of appointing others in their places. James E. Dalliba was recommended for District Attorney. He was eventually appointed.

The Supreme Court organized July 10th being opened with prayer by the venerable Dr. Kehler; Judge Hall presided, and Baxter B. Stiles was appointed Clerk. Rules were promulgated, and a number of attorneys admitted to practice. William B. Likins, John P. Slough, Allyn Weston, I. N. Bassett, and J. T. Coleman were appointed to examine applicants for admission to practice.* Leavitt L. Bowen was appointed District Attorney *pro tempore*.

The first Territorial legislature convened September 9th. In the temporary organization of the House, Mr. Chaffee was elected speaker, being succeeded in the regular order by Charles F. Holly. H. F. Parker was chosen president of the Council. In due time Governor Gilpin delivered his message, and both Houses passed resolutions of loyalty to the Union, which were duly transmitted to Washington. The volume

*The following were reported: Moses Hallett, A. M. Cassidy, Selden Hetzel, Jacob Downing, James E. Dalliba, Baxter B. Stiles, Leavitt L. Bowen, George Wilson, George W. Purkins, Edward C. Jacobs, William Perry, George F. Crocker, N. G. Wyatt, Lewis B. France, Amos Steck, John Wanless, John C. Moore, Samuel L. Baker, David C. Collier, Gilbert B. Reed, William H. Farner, H. R. Hunt, J. H. Sherman, John P. Slough, James T. Coleman, I. N. Bassett, Allyn Weston, William B. Likins, J. Bright Smith, William Gilpin, Lewis Ledyard Weld.

of laws enacted during the session of sixty days, form the basis of all the present statutes, being modeled chiefly from those of the state of Illinois.

On the 1st of July a convention of the Union party was held at Golden City to nominate a candidate for Delegate to Congress. Amos Steck presided. H. P. Bennett received the nomination. Beverley D. Williams was placed at the head of the People's ticket. Mr. Bennett carried the election by nearly a two-thirds majority.

To illustrate briefly the condition of public feeling upon the great national issues, and to indicate the direction taken by the opposing forces, the following incidents are given: S. W. Waggoner, "the bravest of the brave," and W. P. McClure were intimate friends, though widely separated in sentiment respecting the impending conflict. McClure was a secessionist of the most ardent type, while Waggoner was equally pronounced in his devotion to the Union. McClure had been appointed Postmaster at Denver by President Buchanan. He informed Waggoner that he was expecting a beautiful silk Confederate flag from St. Louis, and when received he would like to show it to him. When the emblem of disunion arrived by mail, Waggoner sat in the postoffice reading a late paper and eagerly scanning the developments of the war, when McClure, in the presence of two or three sympathizers, opened the package containing the flag and spread it out to their admiring gaze. He called Waggoner to look at it, but without avail. Finally, after much importuning, he arose and said: "I want to see none but the flag of my country." They insisted upon a closer inspection, which nettled him, and being a furious tobacco chewer, as they brought the emblem for a closer examination, he spat the contents of his mouth upon it, exclaiming, "There, that's what I think of your infernal rebel rag!" and marched out. Anticipating a challenge he prepared for it, but received instead a letter demanding an apology. This he declined to make, but sent a reply in which, after reminding McClure of their long and close friendship, he wrote, "I didn't mean to insult you per-

sonally, but to express my contempt for the cause you represent." The explanation was accepted and there the matter ended.

A Confederate flag was raised one day over Wallingford & Murphy's store, situated on Larimer street near Sixteenth. A crowd assembled, and while some were disposed to remove it by force, the majority favored ridiculing it by passing all sorts of humorous remarks upon it. Still, there was that in the spirit of the audience which gave the owners warning that the flag must be taken down, or serious consequences would follow. In a few moments it disappeared, when the owners received notice that Denver was a Union city, and no other than the Stars and Stripes would be permitted to float over it.

Judge Bennett being of the party, proposed as in some sense a test of the patriotism of the community, to raise a flag over his residence on the West Side. He had traded a lot in Golden City to George West of the Boston Company for the grand old banner, and felt that it ought to be displayed. The town was invited to the ceremony, and the greater part attended. The demonstration proved sufficient to denote an overwhelming majority for the Union cause. Hitherto the secession element had been rampant and boisterous. Afterward they made little or no parade of their disloyalty. The voice of the public had been heard. Among the more outspoken, resolute and emphatic, was Jacob Downing, who pronounced in unmistakable terms his condemnation of all who were against their country.

At the first sound of the approaching crisis, Gilpin, like an experienced soldier, took what were suggested to his mind as proper measures in preparation for the storm. At his instigation a number of military companies were enrolled, and put under drill and discipline, so that an armed force might be in readiness for any emergency. Toward the latter part of July, John P. Slough received a commission to recruit two companies for the United States Army, with the design as then stated, when filled, of sending them to Fort Garland, to relieve the regular troops stationed there, which were to be sent to the states. Samuel F. Tappan recruited a company in and about Gregory Point, Black

Hawk and Central. The Governor in his zeal for the cause assumed entire control of military affairs, claiming authority from the Secretary of War to raise a full regiment of volunteers. He appointed a military staff, with R. E. Whitsitt as Adjutant General, Samuel Moer Quartermaster, John S. Fillmore Paymaster and Morton C. Fisher purchasing agent. The latter was sent out to buy and collect all the arms that could be obtained. As every settler and emigrant had brought at least one rifle or shotgun, the supply was large. By this process the Union men were disarmed and rendered powerless for their own defense, while the secessionists who refused to sell theirs were united and in order for a contest, if need be. Many of the weapons were bought at extravagant prices, and the miscellaneous collection turned in to the common arsenal for the equipment of the troops. As the enlisted men had to be fed, clothed and otherwise provided for, and there being no other way of meeting the expense, the Governor issued drafts direct upon the Secretary of the Treasury. These drafts were readily accepted by the merchants and others who furnished supplies, upon the assumption, nowhere disputed, that he, as the accredited officer of the government, possessed the right to issue them. His entry among the people had been auspicious. His enthusiastic interest in the country, his unwearying exertions to make its resources known of all men, and the wisdom of his official acts thus far, inspired unbounded respect and confidence. They never suspected for an instant that he had no more authority to write these drafts than the merchant who sold the goods, or any other citizen. The executive department assumed the dual character of a civil and a military establishment, the latter predominating. Gilpin's orders to the troops were respected and obeyed. Having been apprised that Col. Philip St. George Cooke and Major Pleasanton were marching from Salt Lake eastward with the remnants of General Johnston's army, he sent a messenger to intercept and if possible to divert their march to Denver. Col. Cooke was advised by letter that this was the great line to be defended, and as he (Gilpin) was already engaged in raising troops for the field, the regulars should come here and support them. But he

declined to disobey his orders to march to Washington, so that project had to be abandoned.

In the course of his administration, drafts amounting to about \$375,000 were issued. When they reached Washington for collection the head of the treasury, Salmon P. Chase, was simply astounded. Our delegate in Congress, Mr. Bennett, wrote the governor that they would not be paid, that the entire business was irregular, and could not be recognized. The government was under a heavy strain for ways and means to meet its own expenses. The treasury was empty, and a loan seemed impossible. But the merchants here were in dire distress. They had exhausted their stocks, and must have new ones to meet current orders. When informed of the repudiation of the drafts they were in despair. Trade languished, money grew scarcer and scarcer and the whole situation was deplorable in the extreme. They opened and poured out the vials of their wrath upon the governor. Public indignation rose to a lofty pitch. Ruin stared many in the face. His Excellency was beset and bedeviled on all sides, but he was powerless to afford relief. The troops were in camp idle, many of them vicious, some mutinous. It became evident that something must be done to avoid a serious ebullition. In hopes of being able to still the tempest, by securing some sort of recognition of his claims, the governor went to Washington. Meanwhile Secretary Chase had sent for delegate Bennett and given him a fearful lecture upon the manner in which this business had been managed by the people of Colorado. The delegate explained that the people were not chargeable with the misguided acts of the government officials. They were wholly unfamiliar with the treasury methods but understood that Gilpin had full authority for his acts. The matter went to a Cabinet meeting but reached no conclusion there. Gilpin was removed, and Dr. John Evans, of Illinois, appointed. While there may have been intrigues against him growing out of the general ascerbity of feeling, these were less effective in accelerating his downfall than his own unwarranted acts. No one doubts that his defensive



H. W. Baerresen

measures, though unauthorized, were prompted by the loftiest patriotism; no one denies that in the sequel his wisdom and promptitude preserved the Territory from hostile invasion, and prevented the subversion of the Union control over New Mexico, and therefore the anomalous course pursued was, viewed in this light, fully justified. His habits of life, thought and action had been, first essentially those of the well trained soldier, but they were overshadowed by the persistent bent of his mind toward the abstruse sciences. He had had no schooling in financial problems. His thoughts were constantly soaring above and beyond the petty details of existence, lost in the immeasurable expanse of vast projects for the regeneration of continents and worlds. Compelled to recognize the necessity which confronted the nation, and that portion of it which he had been sent to govern, the military spirit took possession, and while organizing he met the contingencies in the only way he could think of. He saw the black tempest of war in the heavens and, without pausing to consider whether his course was legal or illegal, put his forces in line of battle to protect his people.

The holders of the drafts finally placed their claims, in the form of itemized vouchers, in the hands of Paymaster Fillmore who took them to Washington, and the First Regiment having meanwhile rendered splendid service in New Mexico, they were audited, first by the War Department, and next by the Treasury, and duly paid. The drafts were simply canceled, and probably destroyed. Fillmore received the appointment of paymaster of volunteers, but neither he nor Whitsitt were allowed any compensation for their services on the governor's staff. Thus ended a matter which had not only excited acrimonious discord in the local government, but came dangerously near bankrupting the infantile metropolis.

Governor Gilpin was born October 4th, 1822, on the old battlefield of Brandywine, upon which his father had taken a tract for a homestead. At the age of ten years he was sent to England where he remained under tuition for three years. Returning to the United States, he entered the junior class at the University of Pennsylvania

and having graduated, was appointed a cadet at West Point, graduating from that institution in 1836. Having been commissioned a lieutenant in the Second Dragoons, he reported to General Harney at St. Louis with whom he marched to Florida to engage in the Seminole war; at its close he resigned from the army, locating in St. Louis. In 1841 he moved to Independence, Missouri, where he served two years as secretary of the legislature. Having studied law at West Point, he engaged in the practice of that profession. In 1843 he came west with Fremont as already mentioned in a previous chapter, passing on to the mouth of the Columbia River. The few white settlers on the Willamette composed of Americans, French Canadians, and employes of the British fur companies, whalers, Catholic missionaries, etc, resolved to form a territory. Gilpin drew up their memorial to Congress and was commissioned by them to lay it before that body. This mission was only partially successful. He claims to have founded the city of Portland, Oregon. His military services in subjugating the Indians of New Mexico and in the Mexican war, have been related. From 1848 to 1861 he resided in Independence. While his administration lasted but a single year, he had the satisfaction of knowing before its close that the troops he had organized with so much difficulty, and under such extraordinary circumstances, had crushed the attempted invasion of New Mexico and Colorado by the Confederate arms.

CHAPTER XIX.

1861-1862—ACTIVITY OF THE SECESSIONISTS—PLOT TO CAPTURE COLORADO AND NEW MEXICO—ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST REGIMENT COLORADO VOLUNTEERS—ITS MARCH TO FORT UNION—BATTLES OF APACHE CANON AND PIGEON'S RANCH—GALLANT EXPLOITS OF MAJOR CHIVINGTON—SLOUGH'S RESIGNATION—CHIVINGTON APPOINTED TO COMMAND—HIS ABILITY AS A LEADER—SERVICE RENDERED BY CAPTAINS DODD AND FORD—M'LAIN'S BATTERY.

During the organization of the troops called for by Governor Gilpin, the sympathizers with and abettors of the Southern Confederacy resolved upon a counter movement, which was inaugurated by the posting of handbills in all conspicuous places between Denver and the mining camps, designating certain places where the highest prices would be paid for arms of every description, and for powder, lead, shot and percussion caps. Simultaneously, a small force was collected and put under discipline to coöperate with parties expected from Arkansas and Texas who were to take possession, first of Colorado and subsequently of New Mexico, anticipating the easy capture of the Federal troops and stores located there. Being apprised of these movements, the governor immediately decided to enlist a full regiment of volunteers. John P. Slough was appointed Colonel, Sam. F. Tappan Lieut.-Colonel, and J. M. Chivington Major, with the following company officers:

Company A, E. W. Wynkoop Captain, J. R. Shaffer and J. C. Davidson Lieutenants; Company B, S. M. Logan Captain, Isaac Gray and E. A. Jacobs Lieutenants; Company C, Richard Sopris Captain, Alfred S. Cobb and Clark Chambers Lieutenants; Company D, Jacob Downing Captain, W. H. Roath and Eli Dickerson Lieutenants; Com-

pany E, Scott J. Anthony Captain, J. O. Buell and J. A. Dawson Lieutenants; Company F, Samuel H. Cook Captain, George Nelson and W. F. Marshall Lieutenants; Company G, J. W. Hambelton Captain, W. F. Wilder and John C. Anderson Lieutenants; Company H, George F. Sanborn Captain, J. P. Bonesteel and B. N. Sanford Lieutenants; Company I, Charles Mallie Captain, Charles Kerber and John Baker Lieutenants; Company K, C. P. Marion Captain, George S. Eayers and Robert McDonald Lieutenants. Recruiting offices were opened in Denver, Boulder, Colorado City, Cañon City, and all the mining sections of the territory. Enlistments proceeded rapidly, and the regiment was completely filled about the middle of September.

Without telegraphs or railroads nearer than the Missouri River, and wholly dependent upon the overland mail coach for communication with the states and the authorities at Washington, all news was at least a week old when received here. Thus in a condition of doubt and extreme anxiety, the troops passed the time until the 6th of January, 1862, when information arrived that an invading force under Gen. H. H. Sibley from San Antonio, Texas, was approaching the southern border of New Mexico, and had already captured Forts Fillmore and Bliss, taking prisoners their garrisons without firing a gun, and securing all their stock and supplies.

Immediately upon the receipt of this intelligence, efforts were made to obtain the consent of, or orders from General Hunter commanding the department at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, for the regiment to go to the relief of General Canby, then in command of the department of New Mexico. On the 20th of February orders came from Gen. Hunter directing Colonel Slough and the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers to proceed with all possible dispatch to Fort Union, or Santa Fé, New Mexico, and report to Gen. Canby for service.

Two days thereafter the command marched out of Camp Weld two miles up the Platte River, and in due time encamped at Pueblo, on the Arkansas River. At this point further advices were received from Canby stating that he had encountered the enemy at Valverde, ten miles north

of Fort Craig, but owing to the inefficiency of the newly raised New Mexican volunteers, was compelled to retire. The Texans under Sibley marched on up the Rio Grande River levying tribute upon the inhabitants for their support. The Colorado troops were urged to the greatest possible haste in reaching Fort Union where they were to unite with such regular troops as could be concentrated at that post, and thus aid in saving the fort and its supplies from falling into Confederate hands. Early on the following morning the order was given to proceed to Union by forced marches, and it is doubtful if the same number of men ever marched a like distance in the same length of time.

When at the summit of Raton Pass, another carrier from Canby met the command, who informed Col. Slough that the Texans had already captured Albuquerque and Santa Fé with all the troops stationed at those places, together with the supplies stored there, and that they were then marching on Fort Union.

Arriving at Red River about sundown, the regiment was drawn up in line and this information imparted to the men. The request was then made for all who were willing to undertake a forced night march to step two paces to the front, when every man advanced to the new alignment. After a hasty supper the march was resumed, and at sunrise the next morning they reached Maxwell's Ranch on the Cimarron, having made sixty-four miles in twenty-four hours. At ten o'clock on the second night thereafter the command entered Fort Union. It was here discovered that Colonel Paul in charge of the post had mined the fort, given orders for the removal of the women and children, and was preparing to blow up all the supplies and march to Fort Garland or some other post to the northward, on the first approach of the Confederates.

The troops remained at Union from the 13th to the 22d of March, when by order of Colonel Slough they proceeded in the direction of Santa Fé. The command consisted of the First Colorado Volunteers, two light batteries, one commanded by Captain Ritter and the other by Captain Claflin; Ford's company of Colorado Volunteers unattached.

two companies of the Fifth Infantry (regulars) and two companies of the Seventh U. S. Cavalry.

This force encamped at Burnell's Springs, where Col. Slough determined to organize a detachment to enter Santa Fé by night with the view of surprising the enemy, spiking his guns, and after doing what other damage could be accomplished without a general action, falling back on the main body. The detachment chosen comprised sixty men each from Companies A, D and E of the Colorado regiment, with Company F of the same, mounted, and thirty men each from the companies of Captains Ford and Howland of the Seventh Cavalry, the whole commanded by Major Chivington. At sundown on the 25th of March it reached Cosloskie's Ranch, where Chivington was informed that the enemy's pickets were in the vicinity. He went into camp at once, and about 9 o'clock the same evening sent out Lieut. Nelson of the First Colorado with thirty men of Company F, who captured the Texan pickets while they were engaged in a game of cards at Pigeon's Ranch, and before daylight on the morning of the 26th, reported at camp with his prisoners. After breakfast, the major being thus apprised of the enemy's whereabouts proceeded cautiously, keeping his advance guard well to the front. While ascending the pass near its summit the officer in command of the advance met the Confederate advance consisting of a First lieutenant and thirty men, captured them without firing a gun, and returning, met the main body and surrendered the prisoners to the commanding officer.

The Confederate lieutenant declared that they had received no intimation of the advance from Fort Union, but themselves expected to be there four days later.

Descending Apache Cañon for a distance of half a mile, Chivington's force observed the approaching Texans about six hundred strong, with three pieces of artillery, who, on discovering the Federals, halted, formed line and battery, and opened fire. Chivington drew up his cavalry as a reserve under cover deployed Company D under Capt. Down-

ing to the right, and Companies A and E under Captains Wynkoop and Anthony to the left, directing them to ascend the mountain side until they were above the elevation of the enemy's artillery, and thus flank him, at the same time directing Captain Howland, he being the ranking cavalry officer, to closely observe the enemy and when he retreated, without further orders to charge with the cavalry. This disposition of the troops proved wise and successful. The Texans soon broke battery and retreated down the cañon a mile or more, but from some cause Capt. Howland failed to charge as ordered, which enabled the Confederates to take up a new and strong position where they formed battery, threw their supports well up the sides of the mountain, and again opened fire.

Chivington dismounted Captains Howland and Lord with their regulars, leaving their horses in charge of every fourth man, and ordered them to join Captain Downing on the left, taking orders from him. Our skirmishers advanced, and flanking the enemy's supports, drove them pell mell down the mountain side, when Captain Samuel Cook, with Company F, First Colorado, being signaled by the major, made as gallant and successful a charge through the cañon, through the ranks of the Confederates and back, and through again and back, as was ever performed. Meanwhile, our infantry advanced rapidly, and when the enemy commenced his retreat a second time, they were well ahead of him on the mountain sides and poured a galling fire into him, which thoroughly demoralized and broke him up, compelling the entire body to seek shelter among the rocks down the cañon and in some cabins that stood by the wayside.

After an hour spent in collecting the prisoners, caring for the wounded, both Federal and Confederate, the latter having lost in killed, wounded and prisoners, a number equal to our force in the field, the first baptism by fire of our volunteers terminated. The victory was decided and complete. Night intervening, and there being no water in the canoñ, the little command fell back to Pigeon's Ranch, whence a courier was dispatched to Colonel Slough, advising him of the engagement and its result, and requesting him to bring forward the main command as

rapidly as possible, as the enemy with all his forces had moved from Santa Fé toward Fort Union.

After interring the dead and making a comfortable hospital for the wounded, on the afternoon of the 27th Chivington fell back to the Pecos river at Cosloskie's Ranch and encamped. On receiving news from Apache Cañon, Col. Slough put his forces in motion and at 11 P. M. of the 27th joined Chivington at Cosloskie's. At daybreak on the 28th the "Assembly" was sounded, and the entire force resumed its march. Five miles out from their encampment Major Chivington in command of a detachment composed of companies A, B, H and E of the First Colorado, and Captain Ford's company unattached, with Captain Lewis' company of the Fifth Infantry was ordered to take the Gallisteo road, and by a detour through the mountains to gain the enemy's rear, if possible at the west end of Apache Cañon, while Slough advanced slowly with the main body and gained his front about the same time, thus devising an attack in front and rear. About ten o'clock while making his way through the scrub pine and cedar brush in the mountains, Major Chivington and his command heard cannonading to the right, and were thereby apprised that Colonel Slough and his men had met the enemy. About twelve o'clock he arrived with his men on the summit of the mountain which overlooked the enemy's supply wagons, which had been left in the charge of a strong guard with one piece of artillery mounted on an elevation commanding the camp and mouth of the cañon. With great difficulty Chivington's force descended the precipitous mountain, charged, took and spiked the gun, ran together the enemy's supply wagons of commissary, quartermaster and ordnance stores, set them on fire, blew and burned them up, bayoneted his mules in corral, took the guard prisoners and reascended the mountain, where about dark he was met by Lieutenant Cobb, Aid de Camp on Col. Slough's staff, with the information that Slough and his men had been defeated and had fallen back to Cosloskie's with directions to join him there. Upon the supposition that this information was correct, Chivington under the guidance of a French Catholic priest, in the intensest darkness, with great difficulty

made his way with his command through the mountains without road or trail, and joined Colonel Slough about midnight.

Meanwhile, after Chivington and his detachment had left in the morning, Colonel Slough with the main body proceeded up the cañon, and arriving at Pigeon's Ranch, gave orders for the troops to stack arms in the road and supply their canteens with water, as that would be the last opportunity before reaching the further end of Apache Cañon. While thus supplying themselves with water and visiting the wounded in the hospital at Pigeon's Ranch, being entirely off their guard, they were suddenly startled by a courier from the advance guard dashing at full speed down the road and informing them that the enemy was close at hand. Orders were immediately given to fall in and take arms, but before the order could be obeyed the enemy had formed battery and commenced shelling them. They formed as quickly as possible, the Colonel ordering Captain Downing with Company D First Colorado Volunteers to advance on the left, and Capt. Kerber with Company I, First Colorado, to advance on the right. In the meantime Ritter and Claflin opened a return fire on the enemy with their batteries. Captain Downing advanced and fought desperately, meeting a largely superior force in point of numbers, until he was almost overpowered and surrounded; when happily Captain Wilder of Company G First Colorado, with a detachment of his company, came to his relief, and extricated him and that part of his company not slaughtered. While on the opposite side, the right, Company I had advanced into an open space, feeling the enemy, and ambitious of capturing his battery, when they were surprised by a detachment which was concealed in an arroya, and which, when Kerber and his men were within forty feet of it, opened a galling fire upon them. Kerber lost heavily (Lieutenant Baker being wounded) and fell back. In the meantime the enemy masked and made five successive charges on our batteries, determined to capture them as they had captured Canby's at Valverde. At one time they were within forty yards of Slough's batteries, their slouch hats drawn down over their faces, and rushing on with deafening

yells. It seemed inevitable that they would make their capture, when Captain Claflin gave the order to "cease firing," and Captain Samuel Robbins with his Company K First Colorado arose from the ground like ghosts, delivered a galling fire, charged bayonets, and on the double quick put the rebels to flight.

During the whole of this time the cavalry under Captain Howland were held in reserve, never moving except to fall back and keep out of danger, with the exception of Captain Samuel Cook's men who dismounted and fought as infantry. From the opening of the battle to its close the odds were against Colonel Slough and his force; the enemy being greatly superior in numbers with a better armament of artillery and equally well armed otherwise. But every inch of ground was stubbornly contested. In no instance did Slough's forces fall back until they were in danger of being flanked and surrounded, and for nine hours without rest or refreshment, the battle raged incessantly. At one time Claflin gave orders to double shot his guns, they being nothing but little brass howitzers, and then stood and counted, "One, two, three, four" until one of his gun carriages capsized and fell down into the gulch; from which place Captain Samuel Robbins and his company K extricated it and thus saved it from falling into the enemy's hands.

Being compelled to give ground all through the day, Colonel Slough, between five and six o'clock in the afternoon, issued orders to retreat. About the same time Gen. Sibley received information from the rear of the destruction of his supply trains, and ordered a flag of truce to be sent to Colonel Slough, which did not reach him, however, until he had arrived at Cosloskie's. A truce was entered into until nine o'clock the next morning, which was afterward extended to twenty-four hours, and under which Sibley with his demoralized forces fell back to Santa Fé, laying that town under tribute to supply his forces.

The 29th was spent in burying our dead as well as those of the Confederates, which they left on the field, and in caring for the wounded. Orders were received from Gen. Canby directing Colonel Slough to fall back on Ft. Union, which so incensed the Colonel that while

he obeyed, he forwarded his resignation and soon afterward left the command.

April 5th Col. Paul, now the senior officer, and consequently in command of the troops in Northern New Mexico, issued an order for all available troops at Fort Union to prepare themselves with all speed, and at dark that day the men received orders to march and moved out of the post.

Some surprise was manifested at this order. It seemed like the army in Flanders that marched up the hill and then marched down again. But Major Chivington briefly addressed the First Colorados, stating that Canby had left Fort Craig on the 1st instant, and they were ordered out to divert the enemy's attention, or to assist in driving him out of the country. After which short explanation all murmuring ceased and the men marched out with alacrity, anxious to finish the task they had so gloriously commenced on the 26th ultimo. They marched to Loma and went into camp. Early on the following morning they broke camp and pursued the march, during which nothing worthy of note occurred until the 13th when a junction was made with Gen. Canby and his forces at Carnuel Pass, where Colonel Slough's resignation was accepted. On petition of all the commissioned officers of the First Colorado Volunteers, presented by Lieut.-Col. S. F. Tappan to Gen. Canby, Major Chivington was promoted to the Colonelcy in his stead.

The men had never liked Slough, and in one of their battles it was asserted that some of them had tried to shoot him. He had little control over them, since they had neither confidence in nor respect for him. On the other hand Chivington was their idol. With him and for him they would have fought anything he commanded them to do. They could easily have annihilated Sibley's forces after the battle of Pigeon's Ranch, but for some cause, never explained, they were not permitted to.

Early on the morning of April 14th, Gen. Canby with his entire force, including the First Colorado, took up the line of march down the Rio Grande in pursuit of the fleeing Texan forces. At about midnight the command arrived at or near Peralta where the enemy was encamped,

and were directed to rest on their arms until daylight. Here one of the most singular and inexplicable incidents of the campaign occurred. It was ascertained by spies sent in advance by Col. Chivington that there was no commissioned officer on duty in the enemy's camp. They were holding high carnival at the residence of Gov. Conley, where they were drinking and dancing in seeming forgetfulness of the defeats they had recently met with. Chivington went in person to Gen. Canby and requested the privilege of surprising and capturing their camp that night. Canby, always cautious, and now fearful of disaster, declined to accede to the request, but Chivington was persistent and urged his plea, offering with his own regiment to make the capture. Canby said he would consider the matter, and if he could overcome his doubts as to the propriety of a night attack he would send for Chivington and let him make the attempt. But the next knowledge Chivington had of Canby's whereabouts or intentions was at daylight the next morning when he, with his servant, was seen kindling a fire to make his morning coffee, and almost simultaneous with the flash of the match to light the fire was the flash of the rebel guns, and the first shot took the head off one of Canby's mules in very close proximity to the General himself.

Soon after a part of the rebel command that had encamped about two miles above on the bank of the river, with one piece of artillery was discovered making an attempt to join their main force. A detachment of the First Colorado Volunteers was instantly dispatched, and captured the entire rebel detachment with its baggage, ammunition and gun.

At about nine o'clock Col. Paul in command of the regular cavalry and of the First Colorado Volunteers was directed to clear the woods of rebels, but to be sure not to bring on a general engagement. For five hours, in a broiling sun, he, with his men, drawn up in line of battle, stood receiving the fire of the rebel batteries under the cover of adobe walls, and of heavy cottonwood timber;—indeed, the entire day was spent in standing up to be shot at by the rebels without the privilege of returning the fire except as our artillery occasionally answered them from the place which Gen. Canby had occupied in the morning. Our

loss was comparatively light, and it is not known that the rebels sustained any loss in killed or wounded.

That night, under cover of darkness, Sibley and his command crossed the Rio Grande and pursued their way down the river on the opposite side. And thus for several consecutive days were the Union and Confederate forces on opposite sides of the river almost constantly in sight of each other; the rebels making all haste to escape from the country, and the Union forces endeavoring to get sufficiently in advance of them to cross the Rio Grande and cut them off, which they were never enabled to do. Frequently the forces would stop and exchange a few shots from their artillery, and then resume their march, until the night of the 17th when the enemy, in the midst of one of the severest wind and sand storms ever known in that section of the country, burned all his wagons excepting two ambulances, packed his scanty supplies upon his transportation mules, and left the river, taking to the mountains to avoid being captured. Next morning left Gen. Canby free to cross the river with his command and proceed leisurely on his way to Fort Craig, where he arrived on the 22d.

Here for the ensuing six weeks the First Colorado Volunteers had the severest test to which they were ever put. The command of Gen. Canby had traveled faster than its supplies, and from necessity they were put on quarter rations. Day after day supplies were expected and looked for; and the reader may imagine the astonishment of those needing supplies when the first train of twenty wagons, of six mules each, arrived and they found it was loaded with nothing but whisky and vinegar; not a pound nor an ounce of anything else. Six ounces of flour per day, and the poorest, old, unshorn sheep for rations, was what they subsisted upon. Tobacco ran out; the men and officers grew cross and morose, and mutiny was threatened.

Having issued an order putting Colonel Chivington in command of the district of Southern New Mexico, Gen. Canby with his staff and all the regular troops in the department took their leave for Santa Fé headquarters of the department. On the 4th of July Colonel Howe, Third

United States Cavalry, arrived at Fort Craig and relieved Colonel Chivington of the command of the district of Southern New Mexico.

He then proceeded to Santa Fé and procured an order from Gen. Canby for the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers, relieving it from duty in the Southern District of New Mexico and ordering it to Fort Union, and also obtained leave of absence for the purpose of proceeding to Washington to get his regiment transferred to the Army of the Potomac and to have it changed from the infantry to the cavalry arm of the service. He failed to obtain the transfer to the Army of the Potomac, but by dint of great perseverance he did obtain an order of transfer to the cavalry arm, and for the relief of his regiment from further service in the department of New Mexico ; also for its return to Colorado for service there, where it arrived in detachments about the first of January, 1863, and was mounted, and continued in the service in Colorado and the adjacent territories during the remainder of the war. The horses and horse equipments and change of arms, etc., were received and the regiment was mounted soon after its arrival in the territory of Colorado, and was then distributed at the various posts in that territory, and at several camps established to render it more effective in holding in check the Indians who had become hostile. And it may be observed here, that the Indian outbreak from New Ulm, Minnesota, to the Arkansas River, was as veritable a part of the Rebellion as the revolt of the whites in any part of the Southern states.

Soon after the resignation of his commission as Colonel of the First Regiment, Slough proceeded to Washington, and in April was appointed a Brigadier General and made Military Governor of the district of Alexandria.

Though wholly unskilled in the science of war, with but little knowledge of drill and discipline, Major Chivington, of herculean frame and gigantic stature, possessed the courage and exhibited the discreet boldness, dash and brilliancy in action which distinguished the more illustrious of our volunteer officers during the war. His first encounter with the Texans at Apache Cañon was sudden, and more or less of a

surprise. The occasion demanded not only instantaneous action, but such disposition of his force as to render it most effective against superior numbers and the highly advantageous position of the enemy. He seemed to comprehend at a glance the necessities of the situation, and handled his troops like a veteran. His daring and rapid movement across the mountains, and the total destruction of the enemy's trains simultaneously with the battle of Pigeon's Ranch, again attested his excellent generalship. It put an end to the war by forcing the invaders to a precipitate flight back to their homes. He hesitated at nothing. Sure of the devotion and gallantry of his men, he was always ready for any adventure however desperate, which promised the discomfiture of his adversaries. We cannot but believe that had his application for the transfer of his regiment to the Army of the Potomac, or to any of the great armies operating under Grant been acceded to, he would have made a still prouder record for himself, the regiment and the territory. That he was endowed with the capabilities of a superior commander none who saw him in action will deny. After New Mexico had been liberated there were no further glories, no more battlefields for the First Colorado. Though some of its detached companies rendered efficient service in the Indian wars which ensued, as a whole its record ended with the flight of Sibley. On a broader field, it might have won imperishable renown.

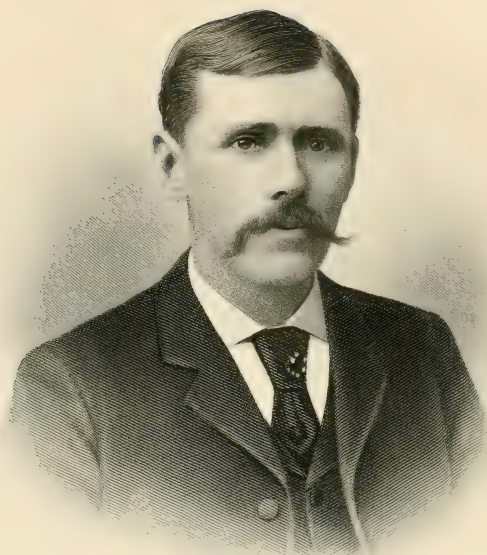
To complete the history of the laurels gathered by our volunteers in New Mexico, it is necessary to review certain events which transpired prior to Slough's march to Fort Union. Two companies of infantry then unattached, but subsequently incorporated with the Colorado Second, were moved from their rendezvous at Cañon City to Fort Garland where they were mustered in by an officer of the regular army and then dispatched to Santa Fé to be uniformed and equipped. The first was commanded by Captain T. H. Dodd, and the second by James H. Ford. After a time spent in drill and discipline, there came an order from General Canby directing all the available troops in Santa Fé to join him at Fort Craig. Dodd's company marched with others to

his assistance, Ford's having been assigned to Fort Union to strengthen the weak garrison at that point. As we have seen, the latter took an active part with the First Colorado in the battles of Apache Cañon and Pigeon's Ranch.

On the 15th of February, Sibley made his appearance at the head of about two thousand Texans. On the 21st, Canby's small command met him on the field of Valverde, ten miles north of Fort Craig. The Texans took a position in the sand hills overlooking the post. Canby planted a battery under Capt. McRae on the bank of the Rio Grande where an artillery duel ensued, but without effective result on either side. At length McRae was ordered to take his guns across the river. McRae protested against the change of position in view of the greatly superior force of the enemy, saying his guns would be taken and his men needlessly slaughtered. Canby insisting, he said, "I will go if ordered, but the result will be annihilation, for I will not surrender." As predicted, the battery was taken, its commander and nearly all his men killed. The Texans charged furiously. The regiment of raw Mexican troops left to support the guns fled in terror before the terrific onslaught. Capt. Dodd's company fought like seasoned veterans, losing half their number in killed and wounded, but not until they had nearly destroyed a company of the enemy's lancers.

Feeling himself too weak to contend against Sibley's entire command, Canby retired to Fort Craig to await the expected reinforcements from Denver, while the Texans advanced upon Fort Union, but were met en route by Major Chivington and overwhelmed by him at Apache Cañon.

During the autumn of 1862, Captain W. D. McLain, by authority recruited a four gun battery which took his name. As organized and equipped it presented a fine appearance, and in connection with the Second Regiment of Colorado Volunteers performed efficient service against Sterling Price and other Confederate generals in Missouri. It was officered by W. D. McLain, Captain; George S. Eayre, First Lieutenant, and H. W. Baldwin, Second Lieutenant. The history of the Second Colorado is given in a subsequent chapter.



William Harvey

CHAPTER XX.

1862-1864—STATE OF POLITICAL FEELING—BENNETT AND GILPIN CANDIDATES FOR CONGRESS—BENNETT'S SERVICES TO THE TERRITORY—OPENING THE BRANCH MINT—REMOVAL OF THE CAPITAL TO COLORADO CITY—COL. JESSE H. LEAVENWORTH—HISTORY OF THE SECOND AND THIRD REGIMENTS OF COLORADO VOLUNTEERS—DENVER SWEEPED BY FIRE—THE CONSTRUCTION OF TELEGRAPH LINES—MAYOR STECK'S MESSAGE—A STALWART SENTIMENT FROM THE PACIFIC SLOPE—PROTRACTED DROUTH FOLLOWED BY A SEVERE WINTER—THE RAPID RISE OF GOLD—SALE OF COLORADO MINES IN NEW YORK—THE GREAT FLOOD IN CHERRY CREEK—THE STATE MOVEMENT OF 1864—REJECTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Pursuing the regular order of events, we find that in July, 1862, ex-Governor Gilpin, deeply incensed by his summary removal from the executive office, but still resolved to perpetuate his name and influence, having received a call signed by some two or three hundred citizens, to become the "People's" candidate for Congress, began an extensive electioneering tour in that behalf. Early in August Hiram P. Bennett was renominated for the same office by the Union Administration party. At this period old party lines were almost wholly ignored, the electors dividing upon the single issue of union or disunion,—in other words, for and against the existing administration in its efforts to suppress the rebellion. The Republican Unionists, though largely in the majority, were strengthened and earnestly supported by many who theretofore had affiliated with the Democratic organization. These acquisitions united with a deep and steadfast patriotism with those who believed that the constitution should be preserved, and the laws made under it enforced. Such as were unalterably opposed to coercion of the seceding states, or who accepted the

doctrine of secession as a state right, arrayed themselves in opposition, and thus all political contests were waged upon the issue thereby joined, until the time arrived for the resumption of antecedent divisions—simon pure Republicanism and Democracy.

Hot and bitter as are the campaigns of the present epoch, local and national in the several states and in our own, they are rarely or never so tempestuous, nor tinctured with the same quality of personal invective, which characterized our territorial politics. In the old days the heat of the campaign entered into all the affairs of life, public and private, not infrequently culminating in social ostracism. The various elements seemed to be in constant fermentation as one party or the other was upheld or cast down by the progress of the war. Intermixed with the general sentiment were factions pledged to support or antagonize the several movements in behalf of state organization. While many of the leading Republicans or Unionists, and some Democrats vehemently advocated admission, the majority in both parties, realizing the true purpose of these periodical eruptions, the weakness of the territory in its lack of population and property subject to taxation, and the burdens incident to the support of a state government, resisted, and until 1876 overcame, every attempt to carry it. Notwithstanding the apparent majority of one hundred and fifty-five for the constitution of 1865, there were many who with good reason believed that it was more apparent than real. But of this hereafter.

Bennett's claims upon his party had been established by the energy and success of his first term in congress, where he fortified himself strongly in the esteem of its members. Though only a delegate, without a vote, a sort of political eunuch, as it were, his power limited to the simple privilege of introducing, and by consent, of advocating measures for the benefit of his constituents, he nevertheless secured the respect and confidence of the ruling majority by his affability and industry, which gave him an influence that enabled him to obtain nearly as many advantages as a voting member. Thus numerous bills for the institution of important public enterprises in the territory became

laws. By the valuable aid of Schuyler Colfax and other conspicuous lights in the House, he secured the establishment of postal routes and postoffices in the settled portions not previously supplied; a local land office, which was greatly needed, since the movement of settlers toward the pursuit of agriculture began at this time to be strongly manifest; the location of military posts for the protection of smaller settlements against hostile Indians; an appropriation for carrying into effect treaties made with the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians for the cession of their lands in Colorado; procured the removal of the Surveyor General's office from Salt Lake City to Denver, with liberal appropriations for surveys; the establishment of a branch mint, and seventy-five thousand dollars for the erection or purchase of a building and machinery for coining gold and silver, and wrought industriously for the passage of the Pacific railroad bill, stimulated in this instance by the hope and belief that the road would be extended from the Missouri river straight to Denver, and thence across the mountains by Vasquez Fork or some other feasible route. He was also instrumental in preparing the way for the final adjustment of the numerous claims arising from the organization of troops under Governor Gilpin's administration. The tremendous pressure of difficulties which beset the government on all sides demanded the well nigh exclusive attention of Congress, hence it was no easy task for our single representative to divert it, even for a short time, to the needs of our struggling communities on the remote frontier.

In our local affairs Mr. Bennett had been a prominent leader. At the election held October 7, 1862, he was re-elected by a very large plurality over his strongest competitor, Governor Gilpin.

George W. Lane, a brother of the somewhat celebrated General James Lane of Kansas, was appointed Superintendent of the Branch Mint in December, 1862. The building owned by Clark, Gruber & Co., was purchased, but not their coining apparatus. What disposition was made of the balance remaining from this expenditure, is not known to the author, but it is certain that the institution has never been elevated

to the position assigned it in Mr. Bennett's bill, nor have the efforts of his successors in office been equal to the task of raising it from the status of an assay office. It remains as it was founded in 1862, a laboratory and a central depot for the deposit of gold bullion from the mines. Latterly it has been converted into an agency for the purchase of gold for the United States treasury department. During the past five years it has been of great service in collecting trustworthy data relating to the annual production of the precious metals, and the condition of the mining industry.

On the 5th of January, 1863, Mr. Bennett introduced a bill for an act to enable the people of Colorado to form a state government, the same being supplemental to Hon. J. M. Ashley's omnibus bill brought forward at the December session and intended to provide state governments for Nebraska, Colorado, Utah and Nevada. Both were suppressed, at all events were not reported by the committee to which they were referred.

The second session of the territorial legislature which was, as a matter of fact, but a continuation of the first session, convened at Colorado City—whence the capital had been removed the previous year—on Monday, July 7th, 1862. Soon after its organization a bill was brought forth by a committee, which provided for a convention to frame a constitution and other machinery of a state government. In submitting the measure the committee entered upon an elaborate and far-reaching investigation of the conditions, political and otherwise, of the territory, as a reason for taking this advanced step. It was boldly declared that progress under the existing form was well nigh impossible, but by mounting to the exalted position of a sovereign state, the people would acquire at a single bound the prestige which representation in both branches of Congress would inevitably bring, and immediately capital and increased population, with all the collateral advantages of such acquisitions would flow in upon us to develop the phenomenal resources with which the country had been so lavishly supplied. The territory, though in the first year of its existence, had already become

odious, and it was asserted (without reason) that the majority longed and panted for the political and industrial loaves and fishes which this movement, if carried out, would shower upon them. They were now denied the right to elect their officers—an immeasurable grievance. Strangers without interest in, or sympathy with the pioneers, were sent out to govern and direct. Decrepit and windbroken politicians who clamored for the support of the general government, were preferred to the first class native timber to be found here in exhaustless quantities. The people were compelled to bear not only these heavy afflictions, but even their laws were subject to revision and possible repeal by Congress, and so on, *ad infinitum*.

The bill failed. The wiser judgment of the majority comprehended the weight of the burden sought to be imposed, and they acted accordingly. On the 11th of July the assembly adjourned to Denver and there completed its labors. Thus went out in darkness the glory of Colorado City as the capital of Colorado territory.

Governor Evans delivered his message, a document prepared with much care, showing in its suggestions and recommendations that he had examined the statutes already enacted, discovered the necessity of their amendment in certain important particulars, and that he had also made an intelligent inspection of the various settlements, and had well digested plans for their improvement.

By authority of the war department, in February, 1862, Colonel Jesse H. Leavenworth (son of General Henry Leavenworth of the regular army), a graduate of West Point, who came out to "Pike's Peak," with the immigrants of 1860, but subsequently returned to engage in the war, was commissioned to enlist a battalion of six companies in Colorado for service in one of the eastern armies. The unattached companies already raised were to be added, and the whole to constitute the Second Regiment of Colorado Volunteers. He arrived in Denver May 12, and to all intents and purposes assumed control of military affairs. He appointed recruiting officers who at once entered upon their duties. The work proceeded slowly, because the mining

excitement having subsided, the floating population had scattered to the westward, or returned to the states. About this time reported discoveries of rich placer mines on Salmon River—now in the territory of Idaho, occasioned a general movement in that direction. All who were not identified with some fixed avocation, and possessed the means to take them to the new fields, emigrated. Col. Leavenworth brought a battery of six guns, which had been captured from the Confederates at Fort Donelson, manned by a contingent from the Ninth Wisconsin. There were four companies here, two of which had seen service under Canby and Slough in New Mexico.

While the recruiting proceeded, the following officers were appointed :

Lieutenant-Colonel, T. H. Dodd ; Captains, J. Nelson Smith, Company E ; L. D. Rouell, Company F ; Wm. H. Green, Company G ; George West, Company H ; E. D. Boyd, Company I ; S. W. Waggoner, Company K.

In the absence of other troops, detachments were sent out against hostile Indians, or to suppress civil disturbances whenever and wherever the aid of military force was required. Headquarters were established at Camp Weld for a time, but subsequently transferred to Fort Lyon, on the Arkansas River, where they remained until April, 1863. A number of men raised in Colorado for a New Mexican regiment were brought to Fort Union and assigned to some of the companies of the Second Regiment.

Shortly after Lieut.-Col. Dodd marched under orders to Fort Leavenworth with six companies, but upon the arrival of the detachment at Fort Riley, Kansas, orders were received to march southward to Fort Scott. From this point the command proceeded to Fort Gibson in the Cherokee nation, escorting a large train of commissary wagons, withstanding an attack at Cabin Creek by a large force of Texans and Indians, going through to their destination without loss. From Fort Gibson Col. Dodd's command with other troops proceeded to Honey Springs, Arkansas, under General Blunt, where they encoun-

tered about six thousand Confederates, and after a severe engagement won a decisive victory. Col. Leavenworth was dismissed the service in September, on charges preferred against him, but was subsequently restored, when he at once resigned from the army, Dodd succeeding him in command of the regiment.

In 1863 the raising of a third regiment was authorized by the president under Col. William Larimer, but it was not filled, owing to the scarcity of men. March 3d, 1863, this detachment under command of Lieut. Col. S. S. Curtis, marched from Denver across the plains via Leavenworth and St. Louis to Pilot Knob, Missouri. A consolidation of the Second and Third infantry was effected in the winter of 1863-64, at Benton Barracks near St. Louis, and the Second Colorado cavalry organized with James H. Ford as Colonel, T. H. Dodd as Lieutenant-Col.; S. S. Curtis, J. Nelson Smith and Jesse L. Pritchard as Majors. Under the consolidation the regiment comprised twelve squadrons magnificently mounted and armed.

It is proper to state in connection with this review, that the material facts in this portion of our history are taken from an account prepared just after the war by Capt. E. L. Berthoud, the acknowledged historian of the Second cavalry, and from notes kindly furnished the author by Capt. George West.

When reorganized and mounted, the regiment was much better prepared to handle the work assigned it. Col. Ford was placed in command of sub-district No. 4, District of Central Missouri, comprising Jackson, Cass and Bates counties, having in addition to his own men the enrolled Missouri militia, a regiment of infantry from the same state, and two companies of the Ninth Minnesota infantry. His district staff was composed of the following officers :

Adjutant, Lieut. Edward L. Berthoud ; Provost Marshal, Capt. J. C. W. Hall ; Commissary, Lieut. James Burrell ; Quartermaster, Capt. Theodore Case. The troops were divided into strong detachments and stationed at different points in the sub-district. The active service for some time consisted of frequent skirmishes with bands of Missouri

bushwhackers, the most harassing and perilous warfare conceivable. In one of these encounters the gallant Capt. Waggoner, one of the bravest officers in the regiment, and nine of his men were ambushed and killed by Todd's band of assassins.

The greater part of the year was consumed in fighting guerrillas and in maintaining a tolerable condition of peace among the inhabitants. It was the most difficult and harassing service, as well as the most dangerous, known in the war, for the reason that our men were constantly liable to assassination by unseen foes. Says Berthoud, "Words cannot do justice to the horrors of such warfare; nor can the tragedies which cruelty, violence, rapine and the worst passions of civil war evoked in partisan warfare ever be fully known. The worst passions had their full unlicensed range, and in the lawless career of the leaders of guerrilla bands such as Todd, Quantrell, Anderson and Vaughan pity and humanity were unknown."

But they were soon to confront more formidable forces, and be afforded the satisfaction of a fair fight on an open battle ground, with foes worthy of their steel. Sterling Price, toward the close of September, marched up from Arkansas with about sixteen thousand men, bent upon the conquest of Missouri and the occupation of its principal cities. When he struck the southeastern border of the state the Colorado troops were widely scattered, as already mentioned. While marching on St. Louis the Confederates met the Federals at Pilot Knob and were very severely handled by them, which caused Price to abandon his original plan of taking St. Louis. His next move was an advance upon Jefferson City, which he attacked with great vigor, but was repulsed with considerable loss. He then turned his attention to overrunning and plundering the river counties, capturing in due course Booneville, Glasgow and Sedalia, and driving General Blunt out of Lexington. Col. Ford's regiment, with the First Colorado battery, was in Blunt's command, but the General himself had been absent for some time in Lexington. Capt. George West was sent to him from Independence with dispatches from General Curtis, who meanwhile had reached Inde-

pendence from Fort Leavenworth and assumed command of the forces in the field. West, with his squadron, reached the environs of Lexington on the river road about dusk, and was pushing forward rapidly in order to reach the town and deliver his dispatches to General Blunt before dark. Shortly afterward he was informed by an officer of the Fifteenth Kansas cavalry whom he met, that a battle had been fought with Price, who, with sixteen thousand men, had taken possession of the town. At nine o'clock that night Capt. West struck Blunt's retreating columns and delivered the orders from Curtis. The night was extremely dark and rainy. Blunt read the dispatches, prepared a hasty reply, and directed West to make all possible speed to Curtis at Independence, forty miles distant. He arrived there at two o'clock the next morning, having made a ride of eighty miles without a halt. Gen. Curtis was informed by this message that the Confederates in strong force were marching westward. Preparations to impede their advance were begun. The Fifteenth and Eleventh Kansas cavalry, and the Colorado Second, with the First Colorado battery, were ordered to a point near Little Blue river, six miles east of Independence, and, commanded by Col. Ford, took a position on the brow of the wooded hills west of the Blue Mills bridge. The position was an unfavorable one for the operation, of cavalry, being intersected by rail fences and flanked on the northeast and west by thick woods but was taken by orders from superior officers. Price's steady veterans on foot rushed through the woods on both their flanks, and by their superiority of fire and numbers soon rendered the point untenable, therefore it was evacuated. The opening of the conflict was fierce, desperate and sanguinary, Todd leading the Confederate cavalry, and Smith the battalion of the Second Colorado. Almost at the first fire Major Smith fell, shot through the heart, but Todd fell almost at the same instant, killed outright. The firing at short range was murderous and destructive, and joined to the shells of a battery that Price had planted near the edge of the woods, caused a heavy loss to Ford's command. Here, some men with Major Smith, left their bodies on the field while the woods were strewn with

dead Confederates. Well seconded by the First Colorado battery, the brigade disputed the ground, making a last desperate stand near Independence. After a short contest our men were overpowered when they retreated through the town and fell back to the main body near Big Blue river, leaving their wounded in Independence. Lively skirmishing was kept up all the following day with Price's advance at and near Big Blue, until on the second day the advance of General Pleasanton with a heavy cavalry force drove the Confederates from Independence. Several hundred prisoners, with two pieces of cannon were captured by Col. Catherwood of the Thirteenth Missouri cavalry, the main force under Price having that day abandoned their intention of going to Kansas City to engage Curtis and Blunt near Westport. The Second Colorado, with the regular Kansas cavalry and the First Colorado battery were stationed near Westport and Brush Creek road, the important key to the whole position, whereby the easy approach to Kansas City was disputed by Gen. Price's advance. The brunt of the battle was here during that brisk and severe engagement; the whole of Brush Creek prairie was covered by dense masses of cavalry, while close on the rear of Price, Gen. Pleasanton was driving the enemy from Bryan's Ford. The road at Brush Creek west of Col. Magee's house runs between parallel solid walls of stone. Captain Green's battalion of the Second Colorado held this road, the men dismounted. The Confederates charged through the lane *en masse*. Green charged them fiercely in turn, broke their ranks and, though losing heavily, routed the collected mass crowded between the walls. Here Col. Magee of the Confederate force was killed, almost in sight of his house. The contest prevailed with varying fortunes until late on Sunday afternoon, when a final charge by the Second Colorado, aided by the rapid work of the First Colorado battery compelled the retreat of Price's men in a southerly direction toward Little Santa Fé. The Second cavalry camped that night on Brush Creek, wearied out, but the Confederates had been thwarted in their attempts to enter Kansas. Nothing remained but to

pursue the demoralized enemy, now almost surrounded, and retreating rapidly toward Arkansas.

The day following was spent in rear guard skirmishes which culminated in the rout of Price at Osage, Mine Creek and Mound City. At Fort Scott the troops rested a few hours, after which the Fifteenth and Tenth Kansas cavalry, with the Second Colorado and First battery resumed the pursuit. Mile after mile the race continued, when finally at Newtonia, Price made his last stand. The small brigade of cavalry with the First Colorado battery pitched in regardless of numbers or cost. To and fro the battle raged, but with varying success. At one time a large portion of the Second Colorado was for twenty minutes in line without carbine ammunition, still the fire was maintained with revolvers. Late in the afternoon the Confederates prepared to make a final charge and then swallow up by sheer force of numbers the small brigade opposed to them. The Colorado battery hammered away, keeping up a close and vigorous fire, yet the odds had been against our men. At last General Sanborn at the critical moment appeared with reinforcements. One more charge and, the rebels broken, the battle of Newtonia was won. Col. Ford exhibited rare energy in this contest, while among the men individual instances of great courage attested the splendid material developed in this long and arduous campaign. The Second Colorado lost here forty-two men besides the wounded. The regiment joined in the pursuit which terminated in driving Price over the Arkansas river.

In December, 1864, after the return from the campaign just described, the regiment was ordered to the district of the Arkansas to inaugurate a campaign against the Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Kiowa, and Comanche Indians. It concentrated at Fort Riley, and there refitted and equipped for the new service on the road between Riley and Fort Lyon.

In the spring, Col. Ford having been promoted to the brevet rank of Brigadier General, took command of the district of the Arkansas. During April, May and June, 1865, heavy reinforcements of cavalry and

infantry were sent to the district, the whole effective force amounting to something over fifty-five hundred men and two batteries. This large force, distributed among numerous posts and stations, was fitted out for a summer campaign south of the Arkansas river. Three columns of infantry and cavalry with one battery of horse artillery to each, were to meet in the neighborhood of the Wichita mountains, after scouring the country from the Little Arkansas to the Cimarron crossing, one column from the Little Arkansas moving west and southwest ; one column from above Fort Dodge from either Aubrey or Cimarron crossing to move south or southeast, while the third column was to move from near Larned and cross directly toward Buffalo Creek and the Wichita mountains.

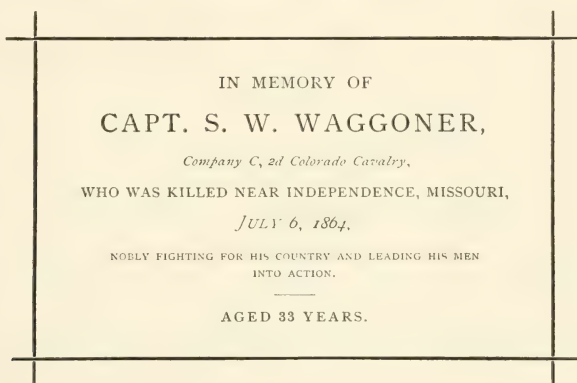
Just as everything was in readiness to move and put into effect this extensive programme, the *orders were countermanded*. Irritated, disgusted and disheartened, General Ford left Fort Larned, went to Leavenworth, threw up his commission and retired to civil life. The command was turned over to General Sanborn who, in August, satisfied that nothing short of signal punishment would quiet the hostile Indians, prepared a force to chastise them. Again on the eve of moving, the Indian department broke up the campaign. During all the spring and summer of 1865 the Second Colorado was kept moving incessantly, but excepting by Capt. Kingsbury's command and some small detachments of other squadrons, no great amount of fighting was done.

The original Second regiment was mustered out at Fort Riley June 15th, 1865, and the remainder at Fort Leavenworth in October, 1865. It was a credit to the state and the country, doing excellent service in the wretched warfare of the border, and winning repeated victories over the guerrilla cut-throats, as also over the largely superior numbers brought against it by Sterling Price.

Governor Evans received authority to organize a third regiment in August, 1862, but as already stated, it was never completed. The troops thus enlisted were mustered into the service February 1st, 1863, under the following officers :

Lieutenant Col. Samuel S. Curtis ; Company A, Capt. R. R. Harbour ; Company B, Capt. E. W. Kingsbury ; Company C, E. P. Elmer ; Company D, G. W. Norton ; Company E, Thomas Moses, Jr.

The post of the Grand Army of the Republic at Independence, Missouri, was named "Waggoner Post" in honor of the late Capt. S. W. Waggoner of the Second Colorado cavalry, whose remains, with those of the brave men who fell with him, are buried in the cemetery there. Through the exertions of the post a beautiful marble monument has been erected, bearing this inscription :



On the opposite side of the shaft are the names of the men who fell with him, and whose graves surround those of their heroic leader.

On the base of the monument the following lines are inscribed :

" Brave heroes rest beneath this sculptured stone,
In unfair conflict slain by murderous hands.
They knew no yielding to a cruel foe,
And thus this tribute to their memory stands ;
Our country's honor and a nation's pride
'Twas thus they bravely lived, and bravely died."

On the 19th of April, 1863, at two o'clock in the morning, when the people were wrapped in slumber, a fire broke out in the Cherokee House on the corner of Blake and F streets, now occupied by the old Fillmore block, and before daylight the business heart of Denver was

in ashes. Most of the structures being of logs or lumber, hastily erected and inflammable as tinder, the flames when once under way at that hour of the night, fanned by a brisk southerly wind, made short work of everything except a few fireproof warehouses whose owners had built wisely for the protection of their goods against such a catastrophe. The district bounded by Cherry Creek, G, Wazee and Holladay streets, with the exceptions noted, was swept clean, the loss aggregating about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, the greater part in merchandise, as the buildings were not valuable except for shelter. Though a present disaster, it opened the way for reconstruction upon a permanent basis, and when restored impressed the stranger with the idea of a very respectable frontier metropolis. Up to this time (1888) it is the only conflagration in the history of the city which carried off more than two or three buildings, owing to the greater carefulness of the citizens, and the efficiency of the fire department.

On the 22d of October, 1861, the transcontinental, or Western Union Telegraph line was completed to San Francisco, and thereby well entered upon its mission of engirdling the world. The rejoicing citizens of the Pacific slope were thus placed in direct communication with New York and the country at large, and given the latest news fresh from the theater of the war. Up to this time, excepting that made by the Pony Express, the average time between the Missouri river and the Pacific coast was twenty-three days, so that when the intelligence from the battlefields reached that remote section of the country, it was something over three weeks old.

The first continuous message sent to New York read as follows:

"The Pacific to the Atlantic sends greeting; and may both oceans be dry before a foot of all the land that lies between them shall belong to any other than one united country." A stalwart western sentiment clearly expressing the sturdy loyalty of a robust and patriotic people.

The Pacific Telegraph Company was organized for the purpose of connecting the then existing telegraph systems of the United States with the Pacific coast. Congress voted an annual subsidy, as proposed

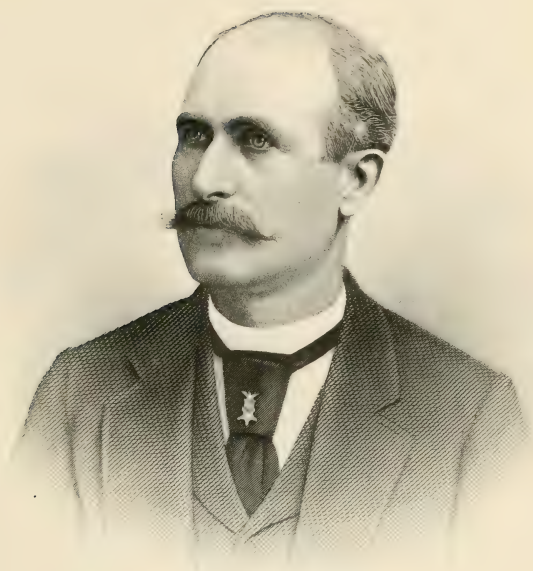
and persistently urged by Mr. Colfax, for a term of years, and its construction was begun from Nebraska City and Omaha as early as 1858, under the direction of Edward Creighton, president of the company. The line from Nebraska City to Omaha, and thence to Fort Kearney was constructed by Henry M. Porter, now of this city, and followed the wagon road westward to Columbus and Grand Island, Nebraska, to a point opposite old Fort Kearney, where it crossed the river, and thence followed the overland stage road on the south side of the Platte to Julesburg, where it crossed to the north side and took a northwesterly course to Fort Laramie, and through the Wind river range to Fort Bridger and Salt Lake City. Brigham Young secured large contracts for supplying poles and transportation on the Western division. The Californians built from the west to Salt Lake.

During the years 1861, 1862, and a part of 1863 Denver's only communication with the East was by the overland mail; first weekly, then semi-weekly, and at last by herculean effort, daily, via Julesburg station,—situated on the south bank of the Platte, two hundred miles distant,—and if more speedy communication with the river, Chicago or New York were desired, by the telegraph wires from that point after the extension from Fort Kearney. The absorbing interest in the progress of the war, and the important commercial and mining relations of the later period, gave rise to a clamorous demand for direct telegraphic facilities, therefore early in the spring of 1863, Mr. Creighton came to Denver and extended his investigations to Central City, the seat of mining transactions, securing from the citizens of both places liberal subscriptions in aid of a branch line from Julesburg to the points named.

Mr. B. F. Woodward was engaged to take charge of the Denver office when the line should be completed, but owing to the sudden illness and death of the foreman of construction at Julesburg where the men and materials had been collected, he was directed to superintend the building of the line. It was finished to Denver early in October 1863, and to Central City a month later.

The first office was opened in a small room over the banking house of Warren Hussey & Co., on the corner of Holladay and Fifteenth, or F streets. Amos Steck, then mayor of the city, asked the privilege of celebrating the advent of this important enterprise by sending a dispatch to Mrs. Steck, then on a visit "back in the states." The request having been granted, he prepared his message, handed it to the operator and waited patiently for it to go, but owing to the wretched quality of the wire used, the line kept breaking and falling to pieces so that no dispatch could be sent over it, therefore His Honor spent the greater part of his time for the next three or four days in haunting the telegraph office, and as the delay lengthened, in expressing his opinion of the line in sententious apothegms remarkable for their energy and conciseness. Finally, at the end of a week the breaks were repaired and regular communication established. The president of the company, though an expert in constructing telegraphs, possessed little or no knowledge of electric currents, hence the frequent breakages perplexed him sorely. In the beginning he was strongly impressed with the conviction that the Rocky Mountains and the metals and minerals among them, exerted an influence upon the subtle current which would forever obstruct, if it did not wholly prevent, the successful operation of the wires, but virtuously abandoned this theory after it had been exploded by accomplished facts.

The first messages exchanged with Omaha and other cities to the eastward, were transmitted Oct. 10th, 1863. Mayor Steck congratulated Omaha on the happy consummation, and received assurances of "distinguished consideration" in return. In 1865 the Pacific Telegraph company was consolidated with the Western Union. In the same year the latter constructed a line from Denver to Fort Bridger, via Fort Collins and Virginia Dale, and thereafter Denver became an important repeating station on the main line. Mr. Woodward retained the management of the Denver office until 1867, and then became division superintendent, with jurisdiction extending over Colorado, New Mexico and north to Cheyenne. In 1875 he took charge of the telegraph



A. B. Place

department of the Denver & Rio Grande railway, and continued in the position until 1884.

To persons only familiar with the freight and telegraphic tariffs of the present era, the prices which obtained in the times under consideration will appear ruinously extortionate. For example, the regular rate for a ten word dispatch from Denver to New York was nine dollars and ten cents, and sixty-three cents for each additional word—no discount for cash, and no accounts opened. To Boston the rate was nine dollars and twenty-five cents; to Chicago and St. Louis seven dollars and fifty cents, and to Omaha four dollars. Gradually, in the process of years, these blood-curdling exactions were modified in this manner: To New York eight dollars, seven twenty-five, six, five, three fifty, two dollars, and in 1887 to one dollar, night messages seventy-five cents.

In corresponding ratio, during the summer of 1865, while the Indians were amusing themselves with our transportation, wagon freights rose to twenty-five cents per pound, and there were instances in which the merchants were compelled to pay as high as forty cents per pound. When such charges were applied to all classes, from corn, hay and flour to sugar, coffee, dry goods, iron, machinery, everything in fact, the cost of living in the Rocky Mountain region may be comprehended, yet there are men who insist that those were the golden days of Colorado, because we had no railroads to cheapen prices, and the merchant could ask what he pleased for his goods. But the truthful historian is compelled to state that it came near bankrupting the country.

In the fall of 1867 the United States and Mexico Railway and Telegraph Company was organized, with Henry M. Porter, President; Wm. N. Byers, Vice-President; David H. Moffat, Jr., Treasurer, and B. F. Woodward, Superintendent. Its object was to construct a railway and telegraph line from Denver to the City of Mexico, via Pueblo, Trinidad, Las Vegas, Santa Fé, Durango, Zacatecas and the city of the Montezumas. The line was completed to Santa Fé the season following. The existence of the railway corporation was maintained for

some years by the bedding of cross ties here and there near Denver on the projected route—an ingenious but tolerated evasion of the statutes in such cases made and provided—and the filing from time to time of new incorporation papers when the law had been strained beyond further endurance. Thus possession was held until A. C. Hunt and General William J. Palmer came on to the scene and organized the Denver & Rio Grande Railway Company, of which Mr. Moffat is at this writing the president, and the system the greatest of its class in the world.

The summer of 1863 was marked by a protracted drouth which dried up the streams, and prevented the growth of crops in the limited area then cultivated. On the plains and east of the Missouri river it was even more destructive and disheartening, consequently prices advanced beyond all reasonable bounds. Earlier than usual, about the middle of October, one of the severest winters ever known in this latitude set in, with frequent heavy snows and very cold weather. Those who had stock on the ranges lost it; supply trains were blockaded, and many abandoned. It seemed impossible to maintain any sort of communication with the states. The stages, which under ordinary circumstances would push through when it was possible for any living force to face the bitter blasts, were delayed; the drivers, bewildered and lost in the furious *pouderies*, wandered about wildly on the trackless prairies. In the mountain towns, at Black Hawk and Central City, hay, grain, fuel and provisions rose to famine prices, and it was but little better in Denver.

In the following spring the great masses of snow melted, flooded the mines and expelled the miners. Rains succeeding, torrents poured down the mountain slopes upon the hapless residents, sweeping in some cases, their homes from their foundations, and filling others with mud and debris. In the valleys many ranches were overwhelmed, covered with sand and well nigh destroyed. Added to these disasters were the rumblings of a general Indian war. Prices which had been exorbitant enough in the fall and winter, continued to advance under the alarming

conditions. The frequent calls for troops induced our workingmen to enter the army, many enlisting with the view of being subsisted rather than from patriotic motives.

The event which saved the miners from despair was the rapid advance in the price of gold, which mounted to the highest point known in the history of the nation. This was followed by a sudden and almost frantic demand for gold mines and mining stocks. No matter whether they had any intrinsic value or not, the speculators wanted them, and as the hills about Black Hawk and Central City were literally seamed with fissures, the supply became fully equal to the demand. Our armies in the east had been defeated. The country was in a state of consternation over the long series of disasters which befel the troops in Virginia and everywhere else except where Grant commanded. The war drained the Treasury at the rate of a million dollars a day, and as a natural consequence, government notes were turned out by the ream to meet these vast expenditures. Jay Gould and others engineered a corner and sent gold up to 172, and the average was about 145 throughout the year.

The sale of Colorado mines in New York began late in the fall of 1863, the first being the Ophir property on the Burroughs lode in Nevada district, subsequently managed by Mr. Ezra Humphrey, and later by Colonel George E. Randolph. As a matter of fact, only a few of the lode claims in Gilpin County were returning satisfactory profits. The surface decompositions containing free gold had been exhausted by constant working, and the resulting sulphurets could not be successfully manipulated by the stamp mills then employed. Outside of a few placers in Gilpin, Clear Creek, Park, Lake, and Summit counties, very little mining was done. But the interest manifested in New York, stimulated by the ascending scale of gold values, awakened a new spirit. So long as the owners of "prospects" could sell out at extravagant figures, what was the use of trying to work them? Under this state of feeling the principal business of every man was to sell what he had, or possessing nothing, to hunt up a hole that might be put on the market.

But the principal difficulty, next to that of treating the refractory mineral, lay in the fact that when shafts had been sunk below three hundred feet, such quantities of water poured in as to render steam hoisting and pumping machinery a necessity. The work could not be carried on with the primitive appliances theretofore employed. Suitable machinery could only be had in Chicago, St. Louis or Pittsburgh, and the cost of its transportation was appalling.

As the year progressed the work of the County Clerk and Recorder multiplied to such an extent as to call for a large force of clerks who worked day and night upon the records of claims, abstracts of title, deeds of transfer, etc., etc. The incumbent, Mr. Bela S. Buell, returned a net income to the government Assessor of forty thousand dollars per annum, the largest in the territory except that of Governor Evans, and paid the tax upon that amount. Hundreds of telegraph dispatches passed over the wires between Central City and New York, relating to mining deals, that cost from fifty to three hundred dollars each.

The excitement was universal. Some of the titles were wholly, or in great part fraudulent, and in many cases the purchasers of mines were never able to find them.

The craze extended through the winter to the following April, when the bottom fell out, and the boom collapsed. The companies organized upon the more valuable properties, sent out vast quantities of machinery unfitted for the work to be done; expensive buildings were erected before it was known whether the ore would pay, certainly prior to the development by which alone profits could be realized, had begun. An infinite variety of processes for treating the ores were invented by scientific cranks, warranted to extract every particle of gold from the rocks, sold to the credulous managers, and sent out to swell the tide of misfortune.

Some of the new companies wrought quite earnestly for a time, but gaining no profits, they shut down. When the crash came Gilpin County seemed completely prostrated. Its population diminished,

money became scarce, all industry languished, some of the operators lost faith in the durability of the veins, and the future seemed unlighted by even a ray of hope. In the summer the Sioux, Arapahoes and Cheyennes confederated and ravaged the plains, breaking all our lines. In brief, the entire year was marked by disasters, a series of bloody tragedies and other memorable events. On the 19th of May frequent extraordinary storms along the divide at the head of Cherry Creek filled the channel of that erratic and repulsive stream with a flood of waters laden with driftwood, the ruins of dwellings, horses, cattle and sheep, swept in from the ranches. The raging torrent, plunging like the waves of the sea under the impulse of a powerful gale, swept down to the city, where, momentarily obstructed by several buildings erected in its bed, it left its banks and poured over into West Denver, submerging that quarter from a point above Arapahoe street to the Platte river. Many houses were torn from their foundations, and all were inundated. The scene of desolation and ruin which ensued has never been equaled by like cause in Colorado. Among the buildings which were wholly destroyed and carried in fragments down the Platte were the Methodist church, the office of the Rocky Mountain "News" and the City Hall. Great billows of muddy water, ten to fifteen feet in height rolled in upon them, and they were crushed like egg shells. East Denver suffered but little above Blake street, but at that point and below all the cellars and many of the first floors were deluged. Several lost everything they possessed, even to the lots their houses stood upon. The probate, city and commissioner's court records, old dockets, and the city safe containing maps and papers of great value, disappeared and were seen no more. Portions of the heavy machinery of the "News" office were carried down the river and never recovered. This destructive visitation obliterated the last remnant of sectional jealousy and rivalry between the two settlements, leaving not a shadow of doubt as to which would in the future reign supreme. It wiped out also for more than twenty years real estate values on the West side, for a large part of its population moved over to the higher ground on the east division. Henceforth there was to be

no room for contest, and Denver proper rose to a plane of commercial vigor and prosperity, which, augmenting with the passing years, has made it one of the most beautiful and progressive cities between the Mississippi and the Pacific.

An act to enable the people of Colorado to form a state government passed Congress, and was approved March 21st, 1864. On the 8th of April Governor Evans issued a proclamation calling an election of representatives to a constitutional convention to be held on the first Monday in June following. The election was held and delegates chosen who met July 4th at 2 o'clock P. M., in Loveland's Hall, Golden City. O. A. Whittemore was chosen president, and shortly afterward the convention adjourned to Denver, where, on reassembling, Eli M. Ashley was elected permanent secretary. A constitution was framed during the session, and the adjournment took place July 11th. Thereupon, the territorial central committee issued a call to the unconditional Union men for the election of delegates to meet in convention at Denver, August 2d, for the purpose of nominating candidates for state officers, and for a Representative in Congress.

The following ticket was nominated :

For Congress—Col. John M. Chivington.

For Governor—Henry D. Towne.

For Lieutenant Governor—Anson Rudd.

For Auditor of State—Uriah B. Holloway.

For Treasurer of State—Hart H. Harris.

For Superintendent of Public Instruction—Mark C. White.

For Attorney General—John Q. Charles.

For Judges of the Supreme Court—Allen A. Bradford, Moses Hallett and William R. Gorsline.

For Clerk of the Supreme Court—Webster D. Anthony.

For Presidential Electors—A. L. Dunn, David H. Nichols and Samuel H. Elbert.

On the 13th, notification that the constitution must be submitted to the people on the second Tuesday in September, was sent from

Washington. Henry D. Towne declined the nomination for Governor and Daniel Witter took his place, by appointment, at the head of the state ticket.

Public feeling against this movement was strong and decided from the beginning, on the ground of its prematurity. The people at large, more especially in the thinly settled agricultural districts and among the mining camps, dreaded the burdens of taxation which the institution of a state government would inflict upon them, and as the entire population was known to be less than forty thousand, the opposition increased with the progress of the campaign. While there was no regularly organized resistance, it was found to be general in all the counties except Arapahoe, and even there it had many positive and outspoken opponents. Governor Evans and Henry M. Teller were named for the United States senate, as if their election were a foregone conclusion. The anti-state newspapers, deeply and in some cases vindictively prejudiced against Evans, made him the target of constant vituperation, and wholesale misrepresentation. In process of time it came to be understood that his candidacy for the senate would defeat the movement. The pressure became so strong that he was finally persuaded to publish a card stating that he was not, and would not be a candidate for the office of United States Senator in the event of the adoption of the constitution. But his withdrawal failed to check the growing opposition. It was claimed also that the nominations for state officers were, some of them at least, highly objectionable, all the more because the constitution and the ticket were submitted conjointly to the popular vote with the evident purpose of compelling the people to accept both, and thus make a complete surrender of their independence. Bradford, who from the outset had identified himself with the opposition, soon after his nomination to the supreme bench published his declination. He became the candidate of the anti-staters for territorial delegate to Congress, and was triumphantly elected. The constitution was defeated by a large majority. The people were not strong enough to support an independent commonwealth, and they knew it.

Probably no more hotly contested campaign was ever conducted under the territorial system, noted throughout for tempestuous, acrimonious and unscrupulous proceedings by both parties. It was even asserted by the anti-state propaganda that Evans and his clan had instigated the Indian war for the express purpose of demonstrating the necessity of direct representation in Congress, and the added power of state organization ; that the Third Regiment of cavalry then being mobilized, had been raised to further the proceeding. The governor's proclamations and his patriotic efforts to avert the storm of war, were used as weapons against him. We shall see as our history develops, how far and in what manner the national government was responsible for the great loss of life and property which ensued, through the violation of its treaties, the rascality of its agents, and its neglect to afford protection. While the negligence of the authorities at Washington was condoned by the argument that in the extremity of its peril it had no succor to give the western territories, and therefore compelled them to protect themselves, the results, nevertheless, were deplorable in the extreme.

CHAPTER XXI.

1864—INVASION OF THE SOUTH PARK BY TEXAN GUERRILLAS—THEIR PURSUIT, CAPTURE AND SUMMARY EXECUTION—TITLES TO MINING PROPERTY—GOVERNOR EVANS BEGINS A MOVEMENT FOR THE EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT OF MINERS' RIGHTS—PROCEEDINGS IN WASHINGTON TO EXTRACT REVENUE FROM THE MINES BY DIRECT TAXATION—THE VARIOUS SCHEMES PROPOSED—GEORGE W. JULIAN'S BILL—FERNANDO WOOD'S RESOLUTION TO EXPEL THE MINERS—THE INCEPTION OF A LONG SERIES OF INDIAN WARS—REVIEW OF THE EVENTS WHICH CULMINATED IN THE BATTLE OF SAND CREEK—MAJOR WYNKOOP'S VISIT TO BLACK KETTLE'S CAMP—RESCUE OF WHITE PRISONERS—GOVERNOR EVANS' CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE AUTHORITIES IN WASHINGTON.

About the 26th of July, 1864, a band of Texan guerrillas acting independently, that is to say, without authority of either the civil or military branch of the Confederate government, led by a desperado named Jim Reynolds, who in 1860 was a laborer in the rich placer mines of Park County, but went south at the outbreak of hostilities, crossed the border and entered southern Colorado. Reynolds and one or two others of the party knew the country thoroughly, and raised the expedition solely for the purpose of plundering those who were gathering large quantities of gold from the mines. The original band, when it left Texas, numbered twenty-two men, as rough, uncouth, and brutal renegades as ever entered upon a mission of evil-doing. It was discovered from an account book and diary subsequently captured, that they left Rabbit Ear Creek, Texas (date not mentioned), and the same day captured a merchandise train of seven wagons drawn by mules, and later a train of fourteen ox wagons, which they robbed of everything valuable that could be of immediate use or be carried away.

It was reported that in one or both these trains they found large sums in silver dollars which were "*cached*" or buried for future use. They reached the Arkansas river at Fort Lyon and, unseen by the troops stationed there, followed its course upward, passing Pueblo and Cañon City en route to the South Park. Their first exploit there was the capture of Major H. H. DeMary, of Colorado Gulch, and James McLaughlin who occupied a ranch in the Park, whom they robbed and held close prisoners until the stage station on the regular mail route was reached. Here they struck Billy McClellan's coach going from the mines to Denver, carrying mail and express matter, the latter including considerable quantities of gold, and gold amalgam. The leader rode up to Abner Williamson, the driver, and presenting a revolver, ordered him to get down and surrender. Williamson, though a brave man, finding himself surrounded, with no opportunity for fight or flight, obeyed orders, but with a deliberation that exasperated the ruffians to coercive measures. Fortunately there were no passengers. McClellan, the proprietor and manager of the line, was relieved of his watch and money. The express box contained about three thousand dollars in gold, to secure which, it was chopped open with an ax. The mail sacks contained many letters inclosing greenbacks. These were rifled and their contents appropriated. They next disabled the coach by chopping out the spokes of the wheels. Intelligence of these bold outrages sped to the surrounding camps and ranches, and in a short time parties of mountaineers started in pursuit of the outlaws, fully resolved to make short work of them when found. A company of miners and others from Summit County, led by Dick Sparks, was first in the field, who after a long search discovered the marauders in camp at the head of Deer Creek, a wild, secluded spot, where they had halted for the night. Sparks and his comrades having first secured the horses of the band, stealthily approached the camp by crawling on their hands and knees. When at the proper distance the signal was given to fire, each man having been directed to pick his robber and kill him if possible. But in the nervous excitement which prevailed, only a few shots went to the mark intended.

One of the outlaws, named Singleterry, was killed outright, and Reynolds the leader, severely wounded in his right arm. Completely surprised, the survivors fled in confusion without stopping to return the fire, or to secure any part of their plunder, and under cover of darkness and the dense timber, effected their escape. Sparks' men rushed into the camp, securing most of the articles and money which had been taken from the coach, their horses, McClellan's watch and other property. One of the band named Holiman was subsequently taken by a party of citizens at a lonely station on the road leading from Cañon City to the mines. He was conveyed to Fairplay, and under threats of immediate execution by the rope, forced to disclose the plans and whereabouts of his companions. At first he proved rather stubborn, but finding his captors resolute, finally yielded, revealing all he knew. He was bound hand and foot and laid on the floor of the principal hotel under guard, to await the deliberations of the jury appointed to pass upon his case. Strong pickets were stationed about the town on both sides of the Platte, because of rumors that an attack would be made by Reynolds during the night. The air was filled with absurd reports and the people wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement by the apprehension that a general massacre was contemplated. At dawn next morning one of the guards was shot through both legs by one of his comrades, who, seeing him depart from a lonely cabin, took him for an enemy and fired with the result stated.

Next day all the men that could be spared from the settlement, collected on horseback and in wagons for the pursuit of the main body, and with their prisoner started down the road toward Cañon City, the leaders having been informed that the enemy had taken that direction with the intention of meeting at a designated rendezvous on the top of a mountain near Currant Creek ranch. While on the march they were joined by a detachment of the First Colorado cavalry commanded by Lieut. George L. Shoup, and accompanied by U. S. Marshal A. C. Hunt, Wilbur F. Stone and others, who were bound on a like mission. They succeeded in tracking the marauders to Cañon City, where after

a prolonged search, five of them, including Reynolds, were captured in a thicket of under brush and turned over to Marshal Hunt, by whom they were conveyed to Denver and lodged in the military prison. Shortly afterward they were tried in secret by the military authorities and ordered transferred to Fort Lyon. If any record of the trial was made or preserved, it never came to the knowledge of the public. The prisoners were placed in charge of Captain T. G. Cree of Company A Third Colorado cavalry, with instructions to take them to the designated post, and should they attempt to escape, to shoot them. On the march, when the command reached the California ranch in Douglas County, as reported at the time, they became especially abusive and insolent to the officers and men. Capt. Cree warned them that they must treat his soldiers with due respect or he would not answer for the consequences, as they were already so incensed as to be almost uncontrollable. A few miles beyond, at the old Russellville town site, the wagon containing the prisoners and their guard fell behind the mounted escort, to water the animals. Here, it was said, a concerted attempt to escape was made, when the guerrillas were fired upon and every one killed. Leaving the bodies where they fell, the command returned to Denver and reported.

The actual facts attending this tragedy were kept profoundly secret. The statements given to the press were shadowy in the extreme. Whether the culprits were regarded as prisoners of war, or as transgressors of the civil law, the method of their taking off was unworthy a civilized people. That they were outlaws who deserved severe punishment for crimes committed in this jurisdiction, to say nothing of those committed elsewhere no one will deny, but to say that an entire company of cavalry was incompetent to guard and safely conduct five prisoners from Denver to Fort Lyon, and that an effort to escape compelled their assassination, is not only an absurdity but a reproach to every one engaged in the bloody transaction. It was openly stated by many that Capt. Cree received verbal orders from his superior officers to dispatch Reynolds and his men in some such manner as herein

detailed, and that it was never intended that they should reach Fort Lyon. Whether true or not, the fact remains substantially as stated, so far as the public has been advised. There appeared to be a persistent determination on the part of the authorities to conceal the details, and the silence has been well maintained to the present day.

During 1863-4 much heated discussion occurred in the mining sections, more especially in Gilpin and Boulder Counties, concerning titles to mining locations or claims. These locations having been made upon the public domain, extravagant reports of their value being sent abroad soon attracted the attention of Congress and the government, and suggested the necessity either of obtaining a revenue from them by direct taxation, or by the subdivision and sale of these immensely productive tracts. In a previous chapter reference has been made to the introduction of a bill termed the "Seigniorage Act" which proposed the levy of a direct tax upon the gross product. As the principal mines were being offered for sale in New York, the elaborate advertising that ensued created still more animated debate in Washington, resulting in the preparation of measures calculated to force the matter to a settlement. While these proceedings were being had at the national capital, the several mining communities, alarmed by the impending danger, prepared for defense. A meeting was held at Central City, November 8th, 1864, to consider the subject of congressional legislation upon the matter of titles to mineral lands. William R. Gorsline presided, and Charles C. Post was elected secretary. Governor Evans, at whose instigation the movement had been brought to this stage, appeared and addressed the large concourse of people at considerable length, setting forth the importance of the exigency confronting them, and declaring that unless prompt action were taken, legislation that would effectually obstruct, if it did not wholly defeat the proper development of the mines, might be anticipated. Having formulated his views on the subject, according to his invariable habit, he introduced a preamble and resolutions and moved their adoption. This document in a series of whereases, outlined the various propositions presented to Congress fore-

shadowing an early change in the policy of the general government in regard to the mines, and looking to the immediate realization of revenue rather than to the extended development of our mineral resources—indicated that through misguided views of the actual situation here, the industry which had been so auspiciously established was in imminent danger of being permanently crippled. It remonstrated with great emphasis against the application of any system of tenantry on the theories advanced. The resolutions asked Congress to enact a just law, giving the property in fee to the discoverers under proper regulations, to the extent of one thousand lineal feet of each lode, with the view of stimulating search for hidden wealth, and also that the titles already acquired under district laws be confirmed; finally, to promote the better operation of affairs, that a mining bureau be created in the Department of the Interior, and geological surveys of the mineral lands provided to aid the people to a more direct apprehension of scientific development. All wise and excellent recommendations, which, with the exception of the mining bureau, one of the most important of the series, were subsequently adopted by Congress, the length of claims however, being extended to fifteen hundred feet. Empowered by the meeting to lay the proposition before Congress, on the 16th of November, the governor proceeded to Washington for the dual purpose of urging this matter, and of securing, if possible, military protection for our lines of communication with the states east of the Missouri river. In addition to these duties, he addressed a memorial to the House of Representatives stating the necessity, and urging the adoption of measures looking to the erection of a capitol building and a territorial penitentiary in Colorado.

In his official report published in December, 1864, the Secretary of the Interior, referring to the mines of our territory, adverted to the fact that attention had frequently been called to the importance of securing an income to the national treasury from the products of the lodes and placers. By the laws of Spain and Mexico, and according to the principles adopted in civilized countries, the property in these precious

deposits was vested in the government, exercising sovereignty and jurisdiction over the soil. In a previous report a number of suggestions had been advanced relating to the protection of this property, and to securing a revenue from the annual output, since when, the same subject had been repeatedly mentioned, but Congress had taken no action thereon. He argued that sound policy dictated the propriety of levying a revenue tax upon those who were engaged in gathering individual wealth from this national property. It was suggested, furthermore, that the jurisdiction of the internal revenue department be extended to cover the collection of this tax from the miners. He recommended the issuance of licenses to every person engaged in placer mining upon the public domain, and a reasonable tax on the products of all mines, which might be graduated according to the cost of production. This plan he thought, would be just to the government, and satisfactory to the producers. To justify these conclusions he proceeded to illustrate by saying, "When it is considered that a nominal tax of one per cent. on the present product of the mines would yield a larger income than is now derived from the sales of the public lands, with an expense of collecting it comparatively small, and that the prospective revenue from this source is so great, the impolicy of granting the mines and mineral lands in fee without consideration, must be approved by all." But an afterthought virtually negatived his conclusion, for he invites the attention of Congress to a new proposition, already self evident to every occupant of these lands, "that the business of developing the mineral resources of those regions is yet in its infancy and that all special legislation bearing upon it should have for its object the increase of the annual products of the precious metals, and should in its inception be directed to the encouragement of the miner by affording him security in his possession and stability in his business, rather than to obtaining an immediate income to the treasury." In this latter declaration the Secretary placed himself so squarely upon the principles evoked at the meeting in Central City, we are led to the inference that in framing the first part of his report he acted upon his own undeveloped theories, while in winding it up he

so clearly adopted the well-known views of Governor Evans as to persuade us that this gentleman had meanwhile conferred with him and changed his views. At all events, the subject was dismissed with the following significant paragraph: "With the prospect of returning peace, and the consequent increase of emigration to the mining regions likely thereafter to ensue, it seems to be demanded of Congress that the rights of the miners should be defined and secured by law, and the prosperity of those regions and the preservation of good order therein, thus insured."

We have in these movements and recommendations the crude beginning of subsequent legislation on the subject of mining titles, devised in large part by Jerome B. Chaffee conjointly with Senator Stewart of Nevada and other well informed representatives of the mining states and territories, from 1866 forward. The first act, though imperfect and in many respects not well adapted to existing circumstances, nevertheless prepared the way for the better system now and since 1872 in full and, on the whole, satisfactory operation. It is not possible to frame a general statute that will operate advantageously in all sections, that is to say, equitably adjusted to all local contingencies, since the conditions vary with every new district opened.

In June, 1865, George W. Julian introduced a bill in the lower house to provide for the subdivision and sale of the gold and silver bearing lands of the United States, and others containing valuable minerals; for the coining of the products of such lands, and for other purposes. By the abstract following, it will be seen that this was the most dangerous of all the measures proposed, and which, had it been adopted, —and at one time it seemed alarmingly probable,—would have thrown the entire business into confusion. This bill provided for surveys of mines the same as for other lands, the filing of plats, and the public advertisement in the newspapers that at such a time and place as might be designated, the lands so subdivided would be sold at auction to the highest bidder, subject to such minimum price per acre as might be placed upon them, the sale to remain open for a period of two weeks.



James Lyron

Fortunately, owing to the vigorous resistance of the mining interest represented in Congress and in the lobby, this bill, though seriously considered, and by its author earnestly advocated, was defeated. During the agitation of the matter here in Colorado, Colonel E. T. Wells of Black Hawk, then a rising young attorney—(subsequently a justice of the supreme court of the state, and at this time a prominent lawyer in Denver), fresh from the battlefields of the west where he served upon the staff of General George H. Thomas,—addressed a letter to the Hon. John A. Kasson of Iowa, in which he set forth clearly and distinctly the injury to the miners contemplated by the Julian bill, and indicated the kind of legislation needed to adjust the difficulty. Mr. Kasson at this time was a visitor in Central City, having made the long and tiresome journey partly for pleasure, but also with the view of investigating the new settlements of the Rocky Mountains. Col. Wells had been here sufficiently long for a man of his keen perceptions to reach the root of the problem, and his experience informed him what were the desires of the people whose interests were threatened. His letter had some part in shaping the policy adopted in 1866, and also in securing the powerful aid of the member to whom it was addressed.

But we are not yet done with the schemes projected against our pioneers on the mountain tops. Fernando Wood of New York, offered a resolution in the House, which, in effect, authorized the president to take such measures,—even to the employment of armed force—as might be necessary, to protect the rights of the government in the mineral lands of Colorado and Arizona. In a word, Mr. Wood proposed to have the miners expelled from their locations, and the mines worked for the benefit of the national treasury, not in so many words, perhaps, but this was, unmistakably, the true meaning of his resolution. In the debate following, he argued that the government in its dire extremity, should hold and receive all the benefits derivable from its more valuable possessions. Some time previous delegate H. P. Bennett had made a speech which, though intended for the lasting good of his constituents by awakening a torrent of emigration to the far West, returned upon

him and them like a boomerang, by furnishing men like Fernando Wood with powerful arguments for the expatriation of the gold diggers. In his address Bennett dwelt long and eloquently upon the phenomenal richness of these lands, the fortunes made in a single season by the more successful operators, the vastness of their resources in every mineral known to mankind which could minister to the general prosperity, the beauty of the climate, and in due course, quoted from the mint report showing the millions which had been sent to the government coining rooms by the people he represented. It stimulated the promoters of mining sales in New York, and was loudly applauded at home, but its effect upon Congress was just the reverse of what was intended. In fact, it came very near precipitating a series of calamities.

Mr. Wood, duly advised of the proceedings in his native city, and supported in his convictions by Bennett's statements on the floor, was armed for a spirited contest. He declared that unless the government acted promptly the veins and deposits would be exhausted, when the public domain, denuded of its value, would be returned as a worthless possession. In the course of the discussion Mr. Washburn of Illinois, reminded the belligerent Fernando, that if he expected to raise a force to go into the Rocky Mountains and drive out the diggers, the country would have another civil war on its hands, not to be easily settled. He had lived in a mining region (Galena) the better part of his life, that was originally in precisely the same condition as that now existing in Colorado. In 1835 Jefferson Davis had been ordered down there with troops to expel the miners under just such instructions as Mr. Wood proposed to have the president issue for this occasion, and after many years of turbulence, involving vast expenditures, only succeeded in stirring up all manner of strife, and he was at last compelled to withdraw and leave the matter to be adjusted according to the better judgment of the people.

In reply Mr. Wood disclaimed any intention of provoking civil war, his chief purpose being to authorize the government to repossess itself of these mines. As they were being offered for sale to the extent of

about fifty millions of dollars, he thought the government should derive some benefit by selling the right to work them, inasmuch as it was the rightful owner, and these occupants trespassers upon its rights. Suffice it to say, that after the question had been fully ventilated, it was laid away to await wiser action in 1866.

Perhaps the most startling event of the year 1864, certainly the one which gave rise to more acrimonious discussion than any other, entering as it did into every phase of political adventure, and invading even business and social relations, was the battle of Sand Creek. Here, as in most public questions, and particularly those of a political coloring, sentiment was hopelessly divided. That we may reach proper and unprejudiced conclusions, it is necessary at the outset of this investigation, to inquire as briefly as may be into the series of events which, in the minds of Col. Chivington and his supporters, rendered the battle a necessity for present and future relief from repeated acts of treachery and violence visited upon the people by the numerous hordes of Indians that infested the plains.

Let us go back, therefore, to the beginning, and by discovering the cause of the war, trace it to the culmination just mentioned. No man who crossed the plains with the early immigrants in 1859-60-61, could have failed to note the effect upon the wandering nomads of the constantly increasing influx of white population to their cherished hunting grounds, where ranged countless thousands of buffalo, antelope and deer that constituted the only sources of subsistence they possessed. The wanton slaughter of this quadruped game was destined a few years later to incite a general conflict, and many scenes of indescribable horror. I saw the tendency from the moment the train of which I was a member entered the country of the plains Indians. Some of those who followed the first reports of the discovery of gold in 1859, and especially those who came by the Smoky Hill route which, down to 1868, was the general rendezvous of the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, and often of the Kiowas and Comanches, were severely harassed, and some of them killed. These Indians were then strong and warlike, lacking only modern fire-

arms to render them extremely formidable. They fathomed quickly the real intent of this enormous outpouring from the east, and knew it to be an invasion which could only terminate in their own dispersion. When the tide turned to the Platte route, they met it with sullen forbearance, but remained peaceable, biding their time. At this period the Arapahoes and Cheyennes were poor, having but few horses, and no arms save bows, arrows and lances. As train after train passed by they begged, first for tobacco and provisions, and next even more eagerly for guns, powder and lead, giving as a reason that when the white men came they hunted and frightened the game so that it could no longer be reached with arrows. For firearms and ammunition they would make great sacrifices. Among the emigrants were many who outraged and abused these wretched aborigines, gave them villainous whisky to drink, invaded their lodges, treating the bucks with brutal contempt and assailing the virtue of their women. Such collisions became more and more frequent as the races became more intimately acquainted. Here in Denver where hundreds of the savages were encamped, parties of ruffians, loaded with arms and "Taos lightning," frequently visited the tepees and subjected the squaws to all manner of violence. Complaints by the chiefs were heard, but there was no redress. At length with sentiments anything but friendly toward the trespassers upon their domain, the Indians folded their tents and departed, and in their councils debated among themselves what should be done.

A treaty made with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes at Bent's Fort in 1861, procured the cession of their lands east of the mountains to the government. It was no sooner signed than regretted. They had been persuaded to the point of affixing their names to the instrument which dispossessed them of their ancient heritage by the usual means, presents and mystification. The more the act was contemplated the more resolute they became to expel the settlers and regain what they had so foolishly surrendered. The conspiracy met hearty approval, but to insure its success arms and ammunition were needed. Henceforth, therefore, the moving impulse among chiefs, bucks and squaws was to

buy, beg or steal weapons that would shoot. In time the arms were collected, their ponies fattened, and the organization and plans perfected for a general and prolonged contest.

In his message to the legislature, delivered July 18th, 1862, Governor Evans urged upon that body the necessity of a militia law adapted to the convenience of the people, in view of the fact that we were surrounded by large bands of Indians, who, though apparently friendly, might at any time be incited to violence. The general government could not be relied upon to furnish protection, because all its resources were directed to the suppression of the rebellion. The Colorado troops were absent in New Mexico, therefore in the event of an uprising which must be anticipated, we would have to depend upon home forces to meet it. The act was passed as suggested.

In September following, acting Governor Elbert issued a proclamation stating that the threatening attitude of the Indian tribes throughout the northwest, engendered by the conflict between the Sioux and the settlers of Minnesota, rendered it imperative that the militia be enrolled as provided by law, and companies organized for any emergency they might be called to meet. Repeated warnings had been received at the executive office of anticipated trouble, and the people must be put upon their guard to prevent disastrous surprises.

A month later Mr. Elbert gave public notice of Indian depredations upon the stations, stock and property of the Santa Fé mail route. By these signs it will be comprehended that the resolves of the Indian councils to equip themselves for war were being gradually carried into effect. By attacking the traveled routes they secured horses, provisions and arms. On the 30th of March, 1863, intelligence was received of very extensive depredations upon settlers at the mouth of the Cache la Poudre. While no murders were committed, horses and guns disappeared. In view of the consequences to be related, the attention of the reader is especially drawn to the unraveling of the cunningly devised plot, as taken by the author from the records of the times. He must have these antecedent facts in order to determine whether or not

Col. Chivington was justified in his attack upon these savages at Sand Creek.

Various other attacks were made along the principal thoroughfares during 1863, in which large numbers of horses and mules, with guns and other property, passed from their rightful owners into the hands of the red men. They were fulfilling rapidly the conditions of their league.

In January, 1864, the troubles increasing, the militia was ordered to be in readiness for effective service. The fact could be no longer concealed or evaded that a formidable uprising was at hand. The continuance of Indian forays signified but too clearly that the stronger and more warlike tribes were being put in battle order for more desperate undertakings than had yet been projected. At one time a tremendous panic occurred in Denver, created by sensational reports from points east and north that a large force of Indians was advancing upon the town to capture and burn it. Frightened men and shrieking women left their homes and congregated at the mint and other brick buildings in the central portion of the city, while the streets and outskirts were patrolled by pickets during the night. Governor Evans issued an executive order closing all places of business at 6:30 P. M. each day, and requiring all able bodied citizens to meet on E street (now Fourteenth) for enrollment and drill.

On the 17th of June Henry M. Teller, who had been appointed Major General of the militia, was directed to take command of the same, perfect its organization, and as speedily as possible put the companies in condition for any service required. On the 30th of August the danger increasing, Capt. Sam E. Browne, who had organized a full company, was ordered to Fort Lupton for the defense of that point against a contemplated attack. The Governor, to encourage the formation of companies and to stimulate the general movement, published a proclamation urging the citizens to organize and repel the savage marauders, and, as a special inducement, announced that they would be entitled to all the property belonging to hostile Indians they might capture, and expressing the conviction that Congress would pay them for their serv-

ices since the territory was manifestly unable to do so. Said he, "Any man who kills a hostile Indian is a patriot, but there are Indians who are friendly, and to kill one of these will involve us in greater difficulties. It is important, therefore, to fight only the hostile, and no one has been or will be restrained from this." There were some responses to this appeal.

On the 11th of August another public announcement was made that he had sent messengers to the Indians of the plains directing the friendly to rendezvous at Forts Lyon, Larned, Laramie and Camp Collins for safety and protection, warning them that all hostiles would be pursued and destroyed. The messengers had all returned, bringing conclusive evidence that most of the tribes were at war, and there were no signs of their having accepted the olive branch held out to them. Then the dogs of war were unleashed on our side, and by proclamation "All citizens of Colorado, whether organized or individually, are empowered to go in pursuit of the hostiles,"—scrupulously avoiding those which had responded to the call, if any, to rendezvous at the points named therein—"and kill and destroy them wherever found, and to capture and hold to their own private use and benefit all the property they could take."

Now who were these Indians? It is known that the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, brooding over their imaginary wrongs, and constantly urged by the Minnesota Sioux, with perhaps a few Kiowas, were the leaders in this plot. When they had stolen stock enough for present purposes, and become thoroughly armed by the same process, or by purchase through white renegades and treacherous Mexicans, they struck out boldly, making no concealment of their designs, enlarging the scope of operations by wholesale killing and robbery. Horses belonging to transportation trains, stage lines and military posts were taken, and the men in charge killed. Stage stations were attacked and, whenever possible, burned; women and children were carried into a captivity that was a thousand times worse than death. In some cases where a desperate contingency demanded it, they combined and attacked in force.

The spoils of these forays were rich and abundant. They had more horses, goods, merchandise, scalps and prisoners than they knew what to do with. From a lot of lousy, poverty-stricken vagabonds they had been lifted up, as it were, to the level of aboriginal millionaires. Uninterrupted successes increased their zeal in the cause. The old bucks who were unable to stand the fatigue of a campaign, and perhaps too conservative in their views for the younger Hotspurs, were retired to private life with the women and children, while their offspring sought every opportunity to distinguish themselves. His Excellency's proclamations, messages and entreaties received under this state of feeling were of no more effect than so many paper wads. When the savage blood is up and he is bound to fight, nothing but a vigorous thrashing will cool his ardor. Then he immediately sues for peace, and is ready to sign any kind of a pledge that may be presented to him, with the mental reservation to break it at the very first opportunity.

By the first of August the outbreak extended from British Columbia to New Mexico and Texas, and from the Missouri river to the Rocky mountains. Every traveled thoroughfare was assailed; no white man who ventured beyond protection was safe. No government troops were available, and so Kansas and Colorado were compelled to rely upon such forces as they could muster from their own citizens. General Curtis wrote in answer to repeated calls for government troops, "We have none to spare, you must protect yourselves."

To make the record complete, it is essential to revert back to the beginning, and take a look at the archives of the Governor's office. These show that on the 10th of April, 1863, Governor Evans apprised the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington of hostilities threatened by the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, as communicated to him by Agent Loree, agent for the Indians of the Upper Platte river, caused by neglect and their misunderstanding of the treaty executed at Bent's Fort in 1861. After stating all the facts thus elicited, he warns the commissioner that unless promptly attended to, serious consequences were inevitable.

November 7th, 1863, he wrote Major S. G. Colley, agent for the Indians on the Arkansas river, that information had been received that a league had been entered into between the Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Sioux and Kiowas, for the prosecution of hostilities against the settlers, and directing him not to issue arms and ammunition to them. It may be observed *en passant*, that in many instances the agents proved to be the worst enemies the settlers had to contend with in this trying period, for the reason that they were realizing large profits from their traffic with the red men. Supplied with annuity goods for distribution among the tribes, they sold and traded away the greater part of each consignment, and by this means collected large sums from both whites and Mexicans, besides rich accumulations of furs and peltries from the Indians who gathered about the trading posts at the close of each hunting season. And it may be asserted as one of the truths of history, that the most of our Indian wars have been traceable to the rascality of the appointees of the Indian Bureau in Washington. The records are burdened with examples, and the reader has only to consult them to find the proof.

On the 9th of November, 1863, the Governor wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs inclosing copies of letters he had received from trustworthy sources respecting the depredations of the Indians, and confirmatory of the league; also that he had met and talked with Roman Nose and two or three of his minor chiefs, all of whom professed friendship for themselves, but said the Cheyennes, Sioux and Kiowas were pretty bad Indians, and were disposed to make all the trouble they could. Now this Arapahoe chief Roman Nose was the man who led the party which murdered the Hungate family on Running Creek in June, 1864, and really opened active hostilities. At the time of his interview with the Governor he was to all appearances an angel of peace, for the simple reason that he had come here to trade off furs and skins in exchange for supplies, including all the powder, lead and percussion caps the merchants would sell him. "He promised," writes the Governor, "to remain friendly, but declined to enter

into the treaty we had designed for them under instructions from the department, until he could get his whole band together. It is the opinion of John Smith who interpreted for me, and of Major Colley who was present, that he (Roman Nose) is in league with the parties who are preparing for war." Events proved the correctness of this opinion.

Again, November 10th, he wrote the commissioner inclosing copies of statements made to him by responsible parties, that the Comanches, Apaches, Kiowas and northern bands of Arapahoes and *all* of the Cheyennes and Sioux had pledged one another to make war upon the settlers as soon as they could procure ammunition in the spring. One of these informers said, "I heard them discuss the matter often, and the few who opposed it were forced to be quiet, and were really in danger of the loss of their lives. I saw the principal chiefs pledge to each other that they would shake hands with, and be friendly to the whites until they procured ammunition and guns so as to be ready when they strike. Plundering to get means has already commenced, and the plan is to commence the war at several points in the sparse settlements early in the spring. They wanted me to join them in the war, saying they would take a great many white women and children, and get a heap of property, blankets, etc." It was stated also, that a number of Mexicans were engaged in stirring up the feeling for a general outbreak.

Copies of this correspondence were directed to Col. J. M. Chivington, commanding this military district, with orders to be prepared for the emergency thus foreshadowed. About the middle of December, like statements were forwarded to Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, indicating beyond peradventure the existence of the confederation for the purpose named, and requesting that authority be conveyed to the commander of the district to call out the militia in the event of a formidable uprising; also that troops be stationed at intervals along the two great routes of travel on the plains, the Platte and Arkansas, and suggesting feasible points for military stations.

Such was the correspondence, filled with timely warnings of the

coming storm, based upon reliable information from the agents and interpreters, who knew exactly what the savages were doing. The only answer he received was, in effect, "Fight it out among yourselves; we are too busy with more weighty affairs to give you any attention or assistance."

March 15th, 1864, the Governor addressed a letter to Major Colley at his agency on the Arkansas, saying, "I hope you will use all diligence at any moderate expense to ascertain the true character of the threatened Indian hostilities. It is of the utmost importance to the preservation of proper relations with the Indians themselves, as well as the preservation of our citizens from outbreaks and butchery, and all the horrors of Indian war, that the utmost vigilance be observed. If possible, get spies who can get into their confidence and report promptly all you can learn."

The Governor also sent copies of his evidence to General S. R. Curtis, commanding the department, showing the league that had been formed, and informing him that a general rendezvous had been made on the Smoky Hill fork of the Republican, whence parties were being sent out to capture stock. Chivington was doing all he could with the small force at his command, but unless reinforced he could not protect the outlying settlements. He wrote again in May to the same officer, saying the Secretary of War had at last sent carbines for the First regiment, and that the depredations had begun precisely as predicted in his communications to the war department the previous year. The troops had had several skirmishes with the Indians, and at Cedar Cañon Major Jacob Downing, with a company of the First Colorado cavalry, had given them severe chastisement.

Having failed in every other direction, the Governor, as a last resort, turned to the commanding officer in New Mexico with an appeal for such troops as could be spared, but without effect. At length, pushed to desperation, he entreated the Secretary of War for authority to raise a regiment of one hundred days volunteers, which, after a long delay, was granted.

About the 18th of June the startling intelligence was received that a family named Hungate, residing on Running Creek, some twenty-five miles east of Denver, had been murdered, scalped and otherwise mutilated, their houses burned and all their movable property appropriated by a band of Indians, afterward discovered to be Arapahoes under the chief Roman Nose, the same who had professed undying friendship to Governor Evans a few months before. The mangled bodies of the victims were brought to Denver, and the horrors of savage cruelty submitted to public view. Then the populace knew for a certainty that the war had begun, but where it would end was an impenetrable mystery. As already related, it had been apparent to the authorities for more than a year that this was to be the result of the league, and we have seen how earnestly and frequently they implored, supplicated and stormed in turn for protection. This frightful evidence of savage ferocity brought the crisis home to every living soul. The Executive at once put the city under martial law, and enforced rapid organization for defense. In the course of their fiendish operations many women were taken by the savages to the most horrible fates. Several men were burned at the stake, others suffered all the tortures of hell at the hands of these inhuman monsters. Our annals are crimsoned with the blood of these terrible sacrifices. Every coach that came through from the river or departed from this point had to run the gauntlet. Some were riddled with bullets, some were captured and the inmates killed. Instances were known where the victims were roasted alive, shot full of arrows, and subjected to every species of cruelty the red devils could devise. Our hand shrinks from picturing the frightful details of those awful barbarities. To exaggerate them would be impossible. Nowhere in all the long record of conflicts between the civilized and uncivilized races on this continent do we find more terrible examples of immeasurable fiendishness. Yet, incredible as it may seem, there were white men and white soldiers who upheld and defended the perpetrators, as we shall see.

On the 4th of September (1864) three Cheyenne Indians were

brought to Fort Lyon, then commanded by Major E. W. Wynkoop, who had in their possession a letter written by George Bent, a half breed son of Colonel Bent, at the request of Black Kettle, head chief of the Cheyennes, which read as follows:

CHEYENNE VILLAGE, }
August 29th, 1864. }

MAJOR COLLEY:

We received a letter from Bent, wishing us to make peace. We held a council in regard to it. All came to the conclusion to make peace with you, providing you make peace with the Kiowas, Comanches, Arapahoes, Apaches and Sioux. We are going to send a messenger to the Kiowas and to the other nations about our going to make peace with you. We heard that you have some [prisoners] in Denver. We have several prisoners of yours which we are willing to give up providing you give up yours. There are three [of our] war parties out yet, and two of Arapahoes. They have been out some time, and [are] expected in soon. When we held this council there were few Arapahoes and Sioux present. [The main bodies being on the warpath.] We want true news from you in return. That is a letter.

[Signed]

BLACK KETTLE AND OTHER CHIEFS.

Could evidence be more conclusive of the predatory acts and intentions of Black Kettle and his followers, or of the existence of the confederation and its purposes, as forecast by the Governor and so forcibly presented to the military authorities nearly a year in advance of the outbreak? Here we have over their own signatures, subsequently acknowledged to have been written at their dictation, indisputable testimony, not only that they themselves had been engaged in all manner of depredations, including numerous murders, for one was but an incident of the other, of which the captives in their hands were among the melancholy witnesses, but that the Arapahoes, Sioux, Comanches, Kiowas and Apaches, had taken part with them. Indeed, it is shown that all but this one band were still out on the same horrible business. Black Kettle was the commander-in-chief of the Cheyennes, and presumably, though it is not in evidence, by reason of his great influence, chief director of the league. He offers to make peace, not to surrender, upon certain conditions, one of which was that we should deliver up our prisoners,—a mere pretext as we had none—in exchange for the women and children taken by him; and the other that the terms should cover

the entire confederation, not otherwise. His successes had made him bold and insolent. The league considered itself master of the situation, and with good reason, but winter was approaching when the savage never makes war if he can avoid it. Their tepees were filled with plunder, their lodge poles fringed with scalps, and they wanted to go off to their winter rendezvous and enjoy the fruits of their prowess without danger of interruption from the military, of whose gathering they had been apprised. Hence the peaceful overtures.

At that very moment no less than five large war parties, indicated in the letter, were out on the plains pillaging and killing, but they would be in to attest their friendliness and accept the customary presents incident to all treaties with the government, as soon as their bloody work could be finished.

Major Wynkoop, after conferring with the officers of the post, decided to visit Black Kettle's camp and rescue, or more correctly speaking, *receive* such prisoners as the Indians might be disposed to surrender. Taking all the available force, amounting to one hundred and twenty-seven men, and two pieces of artillery, he marched to the village and was instantly confronted, and subsequently surrounded by six to eight hundred Indians, who were prepared for peace or war, as events should determine. It was said that the women hovered about his guns and took early occasion to spike them with beans. Had Wynkoop shown any disposition to force matters, he and his command would undoubtedly have been annihilated.

The negotiations proceeded peacefully on the basis of Black Kettle's letter to Colley, but Wynkoop and all his men found themselves in an extremely perilous situation. Instead of abject submission, the Indians, realizing their advantage, had things pretty much their own way. They had no fear of his troops, for they were hemmed in, and could be destroyed at pleasure should there be any signs of a war-like movement on their part.

The preliminaries having been arranged with Black Kettle, Wynkoop, nervous and uneasy, deemed it prudent to extricate himself

as speedily as possible from a situation which* might at any moment become dangerously warm for him, and exercising some rather shrewd diplomacy, withdrew to a good defensive position some twelve miles distant and there awaited further developments, taking precautions against a surprise. The next day the chiefs came as agreed upon, a council was held and four white prisoners, women and children, were turned over to him. One other, a Mrs. Snyder, finding the life of a captive intolerable, had committed suicide rather than endure further atrocious cruelties. Three others were with another band, but at so great a distance they could not be restored at that time, but would be as soon as the captors could be communicated with. While Wynkoop assured them that he had no authority to make peace, he invited the chiefs to accompany him to Denver for a conference with the Governor, pledging them protection and safe return. Thus assured, Black Kettle, his brother White Antelope, and Bull Bear of the Cheyennes, with Neva and other chiefs representing Left Hand's tribe of Arapahoes, came to Denver, where a council was held at Camp Weld on the 28th of September.

CHAPTER XXII.

1864 CONTINUED—AWFUL CRUELITIES PRACTICED BY INDIANS UPON THEIR CAPTIVES—HORRIBLE TREATMENT OF WHITE WOMEN—STAKED OUT AND RAVISHED—MEN TORTURED AND BURNED—COUNCIL WITH BLACK KETTLE AND OTHER CHIEFS AT CAMP WELD—GOVERNOR EVANS TURNS THEM OVER TO THE MILITARY—COLONEL CHIVINGTON'S ULTIMATUM—THEIR RETURN TO THE ARKANSAS RIVER—PROCEEDINGS AT FORT LYON—WYNKOOP SUPERSEDED BY SCOTT J. ANTHONY—FURTHER CONFERENCES WITH THE INDIANS—SOME HISTORICAL ERRORS CORRECTED—THIRD REGIMENT OF COLORADO CAVALRY—ITS MARCH TO FORT LYON—THE BATTLE OF SAND CREEK—CRITICISM OF CHIVINGTON'S ORDERS.

To afford the thousands who have settled in Colorado since 1870, some conception of the revolting cruelties visited upon the women and children who were carried into captivity by these bloodthirsty and always lecherous monsters, the following account of the methods employed is taken from a work prepared by J. P. Dunn, published in 1886, and entitled "Massacres of the Mountains," and illustrates as forcibly as words may, the deeper horrors of an Indian war: "The treatment of women, by any Indians, is usually bad, but by the plains Indians especially so. When a woman is captured by a war party she is the common property of all of them each night till they reach their village, when she becomes the especial property of her individual captor, who may sell or gamble her away when he likes. If she resists she is 'staked out,' that is to say, four pegs are driven into the ground and a hand or foot tied to each to prevent struggling. She is also beaten, mutilated, or even killed for resistance. If a woman gives out under this treatment, she is either tied so as to prevent escape, or maimed so as to insure death in case of rescue, and left to die slowly." Instances



Frank C. Kendrick

are known to have occurred in the wars under consideration, where women after ravishment by perhaps a dozen or more, were lassoed by their merciless captors and compelled to follow on foot—they being mounted—and when from sheer inability to keep up, the hapless victims fell behind, to make their sufferings more acute and therefore more enjoyable to the red devils, their horses were urged to great speed, the women thrown to the ground, and dragged to death. In other cases the brutes after having satiated their appetites, hacked them literally to pieces.

On one occasion a merchandise train was attacked on the Cache la Poudre emigrant road near the Colorado line, the men attending it killed, and the train destroyed. One of the attaches was captured alive, and after being cruelly tortured, was bound with chains to a wagon wheel, his arms and legs stretched out, large quantities of bacon piled up around him and fired. As the flames executed their hellish purpose, they danced and howled about him in savage glee, until he was burned to a cinder.

We find in the records of the investigation which took place after the battle of Sand Creek, the following testimony by one of the prisoners taken by Black Kettle's Cheyennes. Mrs. Ewbanks stated that on the 8th of August, 1864—a little more than three months prior to the battle—her home on the Little Blue river in Kansas, was attacked, robbed, burned, and herself and two children, with her nephew and Miss Roper, were captured by Cheyenne Indians. Her eldest child at the time was three years old, her youngest one, and her nephew six years of age. They were taken south across the Republican river, and west to a creek, the name of which she did not remember, where they encamped for a time, but they were traveling all winter. When first captured she was taken to the lodge of an old chief, who forced her by the most terrible threats to yield her person to him. After a time he traded her to Two Face, a Sioux, who compelled her to perform all the menial labor of the squaws and frequently beat her dreadfully. Two Face traded her to Black Foot, another Sioux, who treated her as his wife, but

because she resisted him the squaws abused and ill-used her, while Black Foot beat her most unmercifully, and the Indians generally treated her like a dog. At length Two Face traded for her again, and this time gave her a little better treatment. Her purchase from the Cheyennes occurred in the fall of 1864, and she remained with the Sioux until May, 1865. During the winter the Cheyennes endeavored to re-purchase herself and child for the purpose of burning them at the stake, but Two Face refused to sell. Quoting her words, "During the winter we were on the North Platte, the Indians were killing the whites all the time and running off their stock. They would bring in the scalps of the whites and show them to me and laugh about it. They ordered me frequently to wean my baby, but I always refused; for I felt convinced if he was weaned they would take him from me, and I should never see him again."

Mrs. Ewbanks' daughter died in Denver from injuries received among the Indians prior to her mother's release. The nephew died here from the same causes. Miss Roper, who was surrendered to Wynkoop with the children mentioned above, had experienced the same treatment which every woman is subjected to after capture. Mrs. Snyder, as already mentioned, escaped her tormentors by hanging herself.

The remainder of this chapter might be filled with similar atrocities committed in this campaign by the Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Sioux, but the foregoing will suffice to show why the regiment of one hundred days' men, otherwise the Third regiment of Colorado cavalry, was raised during the summer of 1864.

At the council held with chiefs brought up from the south by Major Wynkoop, there were present Governor Evans, Col. Chivington, Col. George L. Shoup, Major Wynkoop, Simeon Whitely, U. S. Indian agent, and a number of citizens; Black Kettle head chief, his brother White Antelope, central chief of the Cheyennes; Bull Bear, leader of Cheyenne Dog Soldiers; Neva, sub-chief of Arapahoes; Bosse, sub-chief representing the principal Arapahoe chief, Left Hand, and John Smith, interpreter to the Upper Arkansas agency, the same who months before had apprised Governor Evans of the hostile intent of the Indians.

The meeting or council was, to all intents and purposes a public affair, assuming the aspect of a court of inquiry, with especial reference on our side to the elicitation of the part taken by these chiefs and their bands in recent depredations, with their intentions for the future, and on theirs to the discovery of what was going to be done about it.

Black Kettle opened the meeting with an address, evincing keen intelligence, a thorough knowledge of the causes whereby the races had been brought to war, expressing at the same time an earnest desire for peace. He made no denial of the depredations committed by his tribe, but laid the blame upon the young men who repudiated the wiser advice of their elders, and refused to be guided by moderate counsels. He acknowledged having received the Governor's circular issued in the spring, inviting friendly Indians to rendezvous at the military stations, and declared that as soon as he could get his people together a council had been held and a letter sent to Major Colley, to which Major Wynkoop had responded. This statement, as interpreted and taken down by the stenographer does not conform in all respects to the one made in the letter, which was a plain confession that the nation had been at war, and many of the bands were still so engaged. There had been no previous statement or evidence that these Indians intended or had made any effort to respond to the Governor's appeal. To attest his anxiety for a peaceful settlement, Governor Evans went to the head waters of the Republican to ascertain their grievances and negotiate a treaty, taking with him subsistence and presents for them. They agreed to meet him there but not a redskin came. He sent out Elbridge Gerry, an interpreter well known to them, to find and induce them to come in, but after an absence of two weeks he returned with the report that the Indians in council had decided not to treat, and that the war must take its course.

When Black Kettle and others had listened to, and given answer to the several charges of bad faith, and awaited the result of the conference, Governor Evans said he regretted that they had not responded at once to his endeavors to prevent bloodshed. An alliance had been

made with the Sioux, a great amount of damage had been done, and many lives taken. His efforts to meet them in their own country were treated with scorn. It was now too late, he could make no terms with them, as the matter had been turned over to the military authorities, with which alone they must deal.

Black Kettle readily conceded the correctness of the Governor's charges, except the one that they had entered into an alliance with the Sioux. Nevertheless, it was clear to every one who knew anything of the matter, that the Sioux had been equally active in all the depredations. Referring to the first meeting between his men and the troops, Black Kettle said, "It was like going through a strong blast of fire for Major Wynkoop's soldiers to come to our camp, and it was the same for us to come to see you." Bull Bear said it was the plan of the Sioux to clean out all this country, but neglected to mention that the plan originated with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes who had pledged themselves to undertake it in the spring of 1863, and had since been engaged in its execution.

The Governor having washed his hands of the whole affair, Colonel Chivington, to whom it had been relegated, declared his intentions in these words: "I am not a big war chief, but all the soldiers in this country are at my command; my rule of fighting white men or Indians is to fight them until they lay down their arms and submit to military authority. They—the Indians—are nearer to Major Wynkoop than any one else, and they can go to him when they get ready to do that."

Leaving matters in this indefinite shape, the council adjourned. Nothing had been determined one way or the other, except that the Governor would have nothing further to do with it. He reported officially to Major Colley, the agent of these Indians, that their chiefs had been heard, and that he declined to make peace with them, "lest it might embarrass the military operations against the hostiles of the plains. The Arapahoes and Cheyennes being at war against the government, they must make peace, if at all, with the military authorities. You will be particular to impress upon these chiefs the fact that my talk with

them, was for the purpose of ascertaining their views, and not to offer them anything whatever." All the facts, together with the conclusion reached, were duly reported to, and approved by, the commander of the department, General Curtis, who answered that *no peace must be made without his orders*. Governor Evans then went to Washington to look after the mining legislation mentioned in the preceding chapter, and did not return until the next spring. He informs me that he knew nothing of Chivington's intentions until after they had been consummated, nor did he approve the action taken, and I am assured from other sources that this officer kept his plans entirely secret until they were ready for execution.

In the meantime, Black Kettle had returned to the encampment of his tribe on the Arkansas, and reported the results. The testimony of Major Colley before the Committee on the Conduct of the War states that he then brought the entire village to a point near Fort Lyon, placing them under the protection of the military; that rations were issued to them from the post, and they remained there in fancied security for some time. Major Wynkoop reports the same, and John Smith, the interpreter, who was present, confirms it. These and other witnesses testified that the Indians considered themselves under the protection of the military where Chivington had told them to go if they desired. A few days later Wynkoop was relieved by Major Scott J. Anthony, under orders from General Curtis. Anthony testified that at the time he took command of the post "There was a band of *Arapahoe* Indians encamped about a mile from the post, numbering in men, women and children six hundred and fifty-two. They were visiting the post almost every day. I met them and had a talk with them. Among them was Left Hand, who was a chief among the Arapahoes. He, with his band, was with the party at that time. I talked with them, and they proposed to do whatever I said." He told them he could not feed them, for there were positive orders against it, nor would they be permitted to come into the post. "At the same time they might remain where they were and I would treat them as prisoners of war if they remained," but they must,

as such prisoners of war, first surrender all their arms and turn over all stolen property they had taken from the government or citizens. "These terms they accepted. They turned over to me some twenty head of stock, mules and horses, and a few arms, but not a quarter of the arms that report stated they had in their possession," and the few turned in were a lot of trash they had no use for. "I fed them for some ten days. At the end of that time I told them that I could not feed them any more; that they had better go out to the buffalo country where they could kill game to subsist upon. I returned the arms to them, and they left the post. But before leaving they sent word out to the Cheyennes that I was not very friendly to them."

By reason of the vast amount of malicious lying connected with the testimony and the reports relating to the battle of Sand Creek, it is extremely difficult to reach the truth. Yet it is one of the most conspicuous events in the history of Colorado, and if treated at all, it must be with the view of sifting out the truth, in justice to the territory, the soldiers, and all others whose names have been covered with ignominy for their part in it. Upon the single question of veracity between Wynkoop, Colley and Smith, on the one side, and Major Anthony on the other, hinges the entire problem. If Anthony told the truth, in that fact alone rests at least some, if not complete justification of Chivington's acts. If, on the contrary, Wynkoop, Colley and Smith testified correctly, they can never be justified. Let us examine it.

The former makes it as clear as noonday that the Indians he found at the post on his arrival there from Fort Larned to assume command were Arapahoes, six hundred and fifty-two in all; that he talked with, fed them for a time, and then severed all relations with them. The triumvirate, Wynkoop, Colley and Smith, give us to understand that they were *Black Kettle's band of Cheyennes*, who came in under the advice of Chivington. Now the massacre at Sand Creek, soon to be described, and all the investigations of it, have been handed down through twenty-five years upon the assumption that Anthony

had Black Kettle, and not Left Hand, Little Raven and their Arapahoes under his protection, and therefore the attack by Chivington was one of the most appalling crimes that ever stained the annals of modern warfare.

Let us follow Anthony's testimony a step further. He says, continuing the statement quoted above, "A delegation of Cheyennes, numbering, I suppose, *fifty or sixty men*, came in" (from their camp about thirty-five miles distant) "just before the Arapahoes left the post. I met them outside of the post and talked with them. They said they wanted to make peace; that they had no desire to fight us any longer. * * I told them I had no authority from department headquarters to make peace with them; that I could not permit them to visit the post and come within the lines; that when they had been permitted to do so at Fort Larned, while the squaws and children of the different tribes who visited that post were dancing in front of the officers' quarters on the parade grounds, the Indians had made an attack on the post, fired on the guard, and run off the stock, and I was afraid the same thing might occur at Fort Lyon." Therefore he could neither allow them to come within the vicinity of the fort, nor make peace, but "told them they might go out and camp on Sand Creek and remain there if they chose to do so." As a matter of fact, their camp had already been established on Sand Creek, thirty-five to forty miles from the fort. It must be understood in this connection, also, that Major Anthony was not acting under Chivington's orders, for the post he commanded was outside of this district, but according to instructions from the department commander, General Curtis. His *district* was in General Blunt's command.

Again we quote from the testimony: "In the meantime I was writing to district headquarters constantly, stating to them that there was a band of Indians within forty miles of the post—a small band—while a very large band was about one hundred miles from the post; that I was strong enough with the force I had with me to fight the Indians on Sand Creek, but not strong enough to fight the main

band." Here he was in error, for the sequel proved that he was not strong enough for either.

A careful review of the testimony shows that the Cheyennes did not surrender themselves to Wynkoop nor to Anthony, nor did they give up any of their arms, but that the Arapahoes did. The former were not encamped nearer than thirty-five miles of the post, nor were they fed, while the Arapahoes were stationed for some time within a mile of the post, until told by Anthony to go out into the buffalo country and subsist upon the game to be found there. If the two tribes were together when Wynkoop went down after the white prisoners prior to the conference at Denver, they separated subsequently, the Arapahoes assembling near Fort Lyon, and the Cheyennes camping on Sand Creek. If this be true, there is no apparent reason for the condemnation of Chivington's action which has rendered his name a by-word and a reproach. It certainly is not the state of facts upon which Senator Ben Wade founded his report to Congress. But it appeared some years later that Ben Wade did not write the report, and had little or nothing to do with the investigation, according to his own statement on the floor of the senate, after John Evans had been elected a senator from Colorado in 1866.

Black Kettle's Indians were devotedly attached to Major Wynkoop, but they hated and despised Anthony. They knew his strength, and also that he dared not attack them, for want of sufficient force. Indeed, it is among the reports that they sent word that "if that little red-eyed chief wants a fight we will give him all he wants."

From Major Anthony himself I learn that his correspondence with General Blunt, whom he kept apprised of all proceedings at and about Fort Lyon, brought a response saying that as soon as Price could be driven out of Missouri, he (Blunt) would send force enough to put an end to Indian wars for all time. Therefore Anthony felt it to be his duty to temporize with the Sand Creek band until the promised reinforcements should arrive. He realized that he could not attack them without bringing on a general war, which he was too weak to meet.

Nearly half the time of their enlistment had expired before the Third regiment received their horses and equipments. Tired of long idleness in camp, they began to clamor to be led against the hostile Indians or disbanded. No better or more intelligent material was ever collected for the field than composed the rank and file of this regiment. They had enlisted for the single purpose of putting an end to a war which was blighting all the industries of the country, feeling that they could well afford to devote three months to the work if in the end the disturbances could be suppressed. Finally their horses and equipments were provided, and in October they were removed from the city and sent to rendezvous on the Bijou, close up against the Divide. Here a tremendous snowstorm overtook them. Being poorly furnished for such weather, they suffered great hardships. Chivington having marked out his course, joined them, taking supreme command, and at once began the march to Fort Lyon, two hundred miles distant, the greater part of the way through snow nearly two feet deep. To prevent any intelligence from reaching the fort to which he was destined, he captured every person whom he found going in that direction. His appearance at the post, therefore, was a startling surprise. No one there, not even the commandant, had received the slightest intimation of his movement or purposes. Chivington kept his secret closely, and it is doubtful if any person but himself knew where he intended to strike until after his intentions were revealed to Anthony and his officers. Before entering he threw a strong guard about the fort to prevent any one leaving. The Indians had been encamped on Sand Creek about twelve days. Anthony testified that he placed spies in their midst to advise him of any hostile movement made or contemplated. The main body, several thousand strong, occupied a position in the Smoky Hills just over the divide.

In Colonel Chivington's report to the commander of the department on the 16th of December, it is stated that on the 24th of November he joined and took command in person of the expedition, which had been increased by a battalion of the First cavalry of Colorado; that

he proceeded with the utmost caution down the Arkansas river, and on the morning of the 28th arrived at Fort Lyon to the surprise of the garrison. On the same morning he resumed his march, being joined by Major Scott Anthony with one hundred and twenty-five men, with two howitzers. They advanced in a northeasterly direction, traveling all night, and at daylight on the 29th struck Sand Creek about forty miles from Fort Lyon. "Here was discovered an Indian village of one hundred and thirty lodges, composed of Black Kettle's band of Cheyennes, and eight lodges of Arapahoes with Left Hand." His line of battle was formed with Lieut. Wilson's battalion of the First Colorado cavalry, numbering one hundred and twenty-five men, on the right, Col. Shoup's Third regiment, with about four hundred and fifty men, in the center, and Major Anthony's battalion on the left.

Wilson dashed forward and cut off the herd of horses from the camp, leaving the Indians at the disadvantage of being compelled to fight on foot, for which they were rarely prepared. In the battle which continued as long as there were any Indians in sight, Chivington's loss was eight killed and forty wounded, of whom two subsequently died. The report is brief, omitting details and giving only this general outline. He claimed that there were nine hundred to one thousand Indians in the camp, and that between five and six hundred were slain. "It may perhaps," he says laconically, "be unnecessary to state that I captured no prisoners." His estimates of the numbers opposed to him and of the killed are not sustained by the other reports. John Smith, the interpreter at the Camp Weld Council, and for the Post, who went over to the camp two days before the attack, testified before Senator Doolittle's committee that there were about five hundred Indians, men, women and children in the camp, and about two hundred warriors. Describing the attack he said, "As soon as the troops were discovered the Indians commenced flocking to the lodge of the head chief about the camp where I was, when he (Black Kettle) ran up his flag. He had a large American flag presented to him some years ago, and under this he had likewise a small white flag. The troops came down on a

charge. The Indians did not form in line of battle, but fled promiscuously to the creek." The preponderance of the testimony taken by the committee is against the statement that Black Kettle raised a flag over his lodge. Only a few testify to having seen it, and the great majority declare that nothing of the kind occurred.

Lieut. Cramer testified before the same committee that when Chivington moved his regiment to the front the Indians retreated up the creek and hid under the banks. "There seemed to be no organization among our troops, every one [fighting] on his own hook and shots flying between our own ranks. White Antelope ran toward our columns unarmed and with both hands raised, but he was killed. Several others of the warriors were killed in the same manner. The women and children were huddled together and most of our fire was concentrated on them. Sometimes I was compelled to move my company to get out of the fire of our own men. The battery on the opposite side of the creek kept firing at the bank while our men were in range. The Indian warriors, about one hundred in number, fought desperately; they did not return the fire until after our troops had fired several rounds. Left Hand stood with his arms folded, saying he would not fight the white men as they were his friends. The slaughter was continuous, no Indian old or young, male or female, was spared. Chivington had ordered that no prisoners be taken, that all should be destroyed, and the soldiers obeyed him." As to the scalping and mutilation of bodies after death, the killing of the wounded and so on, of which so many horrible accounts have been related, the witnesses differ widely, some declaring that all were scalped and many shockingly cut to pieces, while others affirm with equal positiveness that only a few were thus treated. But according to all the evidence the massacre was complete. There is no difference of opinion or statement in this regard. Chivington's orders were obeyed literally. It is apparent also that the officers had little or no control over their men. Major Anthony says, "When the encampment was first observed, the troops, believing that here lay the perpetrators of all the atrocities they had

known or read of, the capture of innocent women and children, and the terrible fates visited upon them; the constant interruptions of communication with the East, and the horrors which had been related by eye witnesses, they plunged at once into the fray with the single purpose of destroying these reputed fiends." Can any one wonder that with such feelings and impressions burnt deep into their souls, the troops escaped all control?

According to the testimony of Lieutenant Alexander Safely, the Indians began the firing. He swears that White Antelope advanced with a revolver, firing at almost every step. Note the variance between this statement and Cramer's.

Stephen Decatur swears that he never saw harder fighting by Indians—and this was the fourth battle of the kind in which he had taken part. As clerk for Lieut. Col. Bowen (Third cavalry), he went over the field, counted four hundred and fifty warriors dead, and no more women and children killed than would have been in attacking a village of whites under like circumstances. He did not think the squaws and children could have been saved, as they were in the rifle pits with the warriors who were fighting desperately. He saw after the battle, a man open one of a number of bundles or bales of (buffalo) robes, and take therefrom a number of scalps of white men, women and children. "I saw one scalp in particular that had been entirely cut off the head of a white female, all the hair being with it. The hair was a beautiful auburn, and very long and thick. There were two holes in the front part of the scalp," (indicating that the victim had been shot through the head.) "I saw a number of daguerreotypes, children's wearing apparel, and part of a lady's toilet. There was no white flag displayed at Sand Creek; if there had been I would have seen it."

Thousands of our people knew and respected the late Dr. Caleb S. Burdsall, as an honest, sturdily truthful and upright man. As surgeon of the Third regiment he testifies "that while dressing the wounds of some soldiers in a lodge" (an Indian tepee on the battle-field), "a soldier came to the door of the lodge and asked me to look

at five or six white scalps he held in his hand. One or two of these white scalps I think could not have been taken from the head more than ten days. The skin of the flesh attached to the hair was quite moist. I examined these scalps closely, my attention having been called to the fact of their having been recently taken."

Dr. T. P. Bell testifies that he was a surgeon in the Third regiment. After the battle he saw a great many white scalps in the village of the Indians at Sand Creek. "I have no idea how many, though there were a great many. There were some that looked as if they might have been taken some time ; others not so long, and one that I saw, not over five to eight days old at farthest."

This is important testimony, and conflicts radically unless the surgeons were grossly mistaken as to the age of a part of these scalps, with the theory set up by the opposition that these Indians had been peaceful since they located on Sand Creek. They had been there twelve days before the fight took place. We must perforce assume either that they had been joined there by some one or more of the war parties mentioned by Black Kettle at the Wynkoop conference as being still out on the warpath, and that they brought these scalps with them as trophies, or that some of the Sand Creek Indians had been out on an independent foray while their chiefs were entreating Anthony to make peace with them. One conclusion or the other must be accepted.

It will be remembered that Colonel Chivington's ultimatum to the chiefs, Black Kettle, White Antelope, and the rest was, that in order to be regarded as earnest and sincere in their desire for peace they must submit to the military authority by laying down their arms. There is nothing in all the mass of testimony taken by the several investigating committees to show that Anthony had ever asked for, or taken a single weapon of any kind from Black Kettle's band. All that were surrendered were given up by the Arapahoes, and those were worthless. The hard and desperate fighting done by the Cheyennes at Sand Creek proves by the number of men killed and wounded on our

side that the Indians had their guns, with plenty of powder and bullets, and used them as best they could against overwhelming numbers, seconded by artillery.

Major Presley Talbot of the Third regiment—now a resident of Denver—who was severely wounded in the battle and lay in hospital at Fort Lyon for weeks afterward, testifies that he had “several conversations with Colley the Indian agent, and John Smith the interpreter. They had considerable sympathy for me as I was wounded, but they would do anything to damn Chivington or Major Downing; saying they (Colley and Smith) had lost at least six thousand dollars by the Sand Creek fight; that they had one hundred and five buffalo robes and two white ponies bought at the time of the attack, independent of the goods they had on the ground which they had never recovered, but would make the government pay for, and damn old Chivington eventually. Smith and Colley both told me that they were equally interested in the trade with the Indians.”

It will never be known how many Indians were killed in this battle. Chivington reported five to six hundred, and the other statements vary between seventy-five and three hundred, the latter being Anthony's estimate. One thing is certain, that of the original encampment many escaped to the main body on the Smoky Hill, but all who could be reached with rifle or cannon were killed, warriors, women and children indiscriminately. That many horrible scenes occurred on this battlefield, the work of infuriated soldiers when their enemies were at their mercy, is undeniable. I have personally listened to the tales of some of the perpetrators of deeds which they themselves committed, that caused my blood to run cold, and forced me to blush with shame that any human being could have been so inhuman, and in two instances they related to the slaughter of women and children who fell into their hands. And their warrant for it was that Chivington had commanded that no prisoners be taken. Whether the battle of Sand Creek was right or wrong, these fiendish acts can never be palliated, nor can there ever be in this world or the next any pardon for the men who were responsible for

them. It was this more than any other stain attaching to this historic tragedy which brought the condemnation of mankind upon the leaders of that terrible day, and which, strive as we may to efface it, will remain as the deliberate judgment of history. It will not do, as some have done, to fall back to the atrocities of the Indians upon our people as a justification. If it was right in this case, then would Abraham Lincoln have been justified in retaliating in kind upon the Confederate prisoners in his hands, the awful sufferings of our men at Andersonville, an act that would have shocked all Christendom.

On the 11th of December, Colonel Chivington reports that having sent his dead and wounded to Fort Lyon, he resumed the pursuit of the hostiles in the direction of Camp Wynkoop on the Arkansas river, marching all night on the 3d and 4th, in hopes of overtaking a large encampment of Arapahoes and Cheyennes under Little Raven, but they had been apprised of his advance, and fled. His stock was exhausted, rendering him unable to pursue them further. Besides, the time of enlistment of the one hundred days' men was nearly expired, therefore he deemed it wise to return to Denver. The regiment was mustered out on the 19th, and returned to this city on the 22d of December, where it was accorded a hearty reception.

Let us now take a glance at Chivington's reasons for going to Sand Creek. To begin with, a regiment of men had been drawn from the industries of the territory for the express purpose of putting an end to Indian depredations upon our commerce and people. Something had to be done with it before the expiration of the term of its enlistment, or the authorities which had made so many representations of its necessity to the War Department would have been placed in a humiliating predicament. The Cheyennes and their confederates were on the warpath. On the 8th of April, 1864, General Curtis, referring to depredations on the Platte route, writes or telegraphs the commander of this district, "Do not let district lines prevent pursuing and punishing them." Again on May 20th, he telegraphed, "Look out for Cheyennes everywhere. Especially instruct troops on the Upper Arkansas." August

8th, there came a dispatch from Fort Kearney, saying, "Nine men killed to-day about two miles east of Plum Creek ; two women and four children supposed to have been taken prisoners. Indians attacked three trains, destroyed one, and killed all the men in the train." The captives were Mrs. Ewbanks, her children, and Miss Roper. September 28th, while the Third regiment was still waiting and longing for its horses and equipments, Curtis telegraphs, "I shall require bad Indians delivered up ; restoration of equal numbers of stock, also hostages to secure. I want no peace till Indians suffer more. * * * I fear agent of Interior Department will be ready to make presents too soon ; it is better to chastise before giving anything but a little tobacco to talk over. No peace must be made without my direction." This order was issued, for it is tantamount to a command, on the day of the council with Black Kettle at Camp Weld, and accounts for the attitude assumed by Evans and Chivington.

Having extracted from the record the material facts bearing upon the battle of Sand Creek, by steering our way through the maze of hearsay evidence, the intricate depths of falsehood, personal venom and political entanglements, with the honest purpose of penetrating and disclosing the truth, we come at last to the question, was the attack itself justifiable under the circumstances? Let us summarize briefly.

The Cheyenne Indians may have rested upon the assurances of Wynkoop, who had no right to give them, that they were to be protected, but they had no such assurance from Evans, Chivington or Anthony. The first had surrendered his authority to the military. Chivington as its representative had laid down his ultimatum. Curtis had forbidden negotiations for peace. The only conditions on which the red men could have been regarded as prisoners of war, and therefore entitled to protection, were by complete surrender and the laying down of their arms. The Arapahoes surrendered only such arms as were of no value to them—the Cheyennes none at all. Anthony told the deputation of Cheyennes who came up from Sand Creek that he could make no peace with them. He had assurances from General Blunt that he would soon



C. C. Taylor

be on the ground with force enough to clean out the Indians and close up the war, and he was awaiting Blunt's reinforcements when Chivington arrived.

Across the "divide" forty miles distant in a direct line, but about one hundred by the traveled route, lay the main body of the hostiles about two thousand strong, watching every phase of development, and doubtless receiving advices regularly from the camp at Sand Creek as to the progress of affairs at the post, and prepared to take any course that would secure greatest advantages to themselves. If Chivington and Anthony had any doubts of the propriety of attacking the Sand Creek band, they should have thrown a strong guard about it to prevent the escape of even a single Indian, and then pushed on to the Smoky Hill with the object of striking and severely chastising the hostiles encamped at that point. I have good reason to believe that this plan was seriously considered before the troops left Fort Lyon. Exactly why it was abandoned I have been unable to discover. One of the reasons advanced was that the troops, never under proper discipline, seeing before them in early morning a camp where lay, as they believed, the enemy of whom they were in search, became wholly uncontrollable and plunged in regardless of orders. But this view of the case is overthrown by the official reports of the battle, which show that the attack was deliberately planned.

There is no doubt that the Indians expected pardon. It is equally clear that Black Kettle, Left Hand and possibly some of the sub-chiefs with them had themselves taken no part in the depredations, endeavored to check and restrain their young men, and made considerable effort to bring their bands under the shelter offered by Governor Evans' circular issued in June. Colonel Bent says they did, and no white man exercised greater influence among them than he. The difficulty appeared to be that the young braves, as was so often the case, refused to be guided and so continued their destructive expeditions.

It had been the history of such conflicts, for the Indian to pursue his bloody work until fully satiated, or until he realized that an army

was approaching to crush him, or that winter was at hand when he had no stomach for war or anything else but to lounge lazily in his tepee. It is under such circumstances that he is impelled to sue for peace, which is rarely or never denied. A council or a treaty signified a feast, a bountiful supply of presents, provisions, blankets, clothing, indeed about everything he might demand as a condition precedent to the cessation of hostilities. It was fully understood that the government would at once forgive all past offences, no matter how many lives had been taken, or how great the damage done to property, if they came in and asked for it. They did not apprehend danger from the troops because they knew the demand for men to suppress the rebellion. Indeed, Left Hand is known to have said at Fort Lyon after his return to that point from the council at Denver, that now the white men were fighting among themselves, it was the Indians' opportunity to expel the trespassers from their lands. I have this from the officer to whom he made the statement.

I cannot discover any difference between a white and a red murderer, except that the latter is somewhat more barbarous. It seems to me that when a body of outlaws raid our settlements, kill the settlers, carry off their women and children, and rob them of their property; attack and destroy lines of communication, and make themselves a terror to all the country round about, they should be pursued and punished,—not permitted to come in after their devilish work is done, and by simply saying, "We confess everything, but want peace," have it immediately granted with immeasurable gratitude for the offer. This is just what Wynkoop, Smith, Colley and the rest who declaimed most vehemently against the attack at Sand Creek, demanded of the authorities.

Referring to the damaging testimony given by Smith and Colley before the several committees appointed to investigate the affair, the reader is invited to remember that they were, the one an interpreter, the other an agent, and mutually interested in traffic with the Indians; that they lost heavily by the battle and were therefore loudest in condemning

it. Indeed, they furnished about all the condemnatory evidence there is on record. Wynkoop obtained most of his direct information from them; all his sympathies were from the outset with the Indians, and he stoutly maintained their side of the case to the end. Talbot tells us that Smith and Colley deliberately planned and persistently worked for Chivington's downfall.

If it be assumed that these Indians were friendly, and should have been warned of the contemplated attack, what would have been the effect of such magnanimity? Need any one be told that they would have fled to their brethren on the Smoky Hill, where their force, added to the main body, would have made it strong enough to give Chivington an overwhelming disaster, instead of a victory?

Finally, we discover that these Indians having received no assurance of protection, were necessarily left to be disposed of as the military authority might direct. If they were innocent of the blood of our people, why were so many scalps of white women found in their tepees? and what were they doing with ladies' toilets, children's apparel and the numberless articles belonging to the settlers they had slain? How came they by the prisoners surrendered to Wynkoop, every one of whom had suffered beyond the power of words to describe, and all of whom went to untimely graves shortly afterward because of the cruelties practiced upon them?

Every one familiar with the events of 1864 knows that the most intense bitterness prevailed between the State and Anti-State factions, and that the latter used the Sand Creek affair relentlessly in the prosecution of its designs against the leaders of the State movement. This state of feeling had much to do with the crimson coloring which incarnated the news, and has been handed down to the present day. It was not so much the attack itself, as the awful barbarities which attended it, that gave the opposition its greatest advantage, and they were employed at every turn of events with added exaggerations to accomplish the ruin of Evans and Chivington. It is needless to say that both went down under the load.

No doubt the gigantic Colonel felt as he surveyed the gory field strewn with dead savages, that he had won a brilliant victory which would cover his name with imperishable renown, and perhaps embellish his uniform with the coveted stars of a Brigadier. He had in mind also, General Harney's famous achievement at Ash Hollow in September, 1855, and felt that he had eclipsed the glory of that historic massacre, but forgot that Harney gave no orders to kill everything in sight, and hence saved himself the disgrace of an indiscriminate slaughter. Ash Hollow was situated on Ash Creek, a tributary of the North Platte in western Nebraska. The troops surrounded the encampment of hostile Sioux, who had been committing all manner of depredations, at three o'clock in the morning.

The attack took place at sunrise. The chiefs finding themselves hemmed in on all sides made overtures for a parley, professing friendship and begging for peace, which was denied. The fight began in very much the same manner as at Sand Creek, but leaving the Indians not the smallest outlet for escape. Eighty-six, among them many women and children, were killed. Nevertheless, seventy women and children were taken prisoners and their lives spared, but the camp with all its contents was destroyed. In the lodges, as at Sand Creek, was found a large assortment of mail matter, women and children's clothing, together with several scalps of white women.

To show that it is rarely possible to save the squaws and children when an Indian camp is surprised, I have it from an officer who a few years later charged with Custer's cavalry upon Black Kettle's camp on the Wichita and nearly annihilated the band, that the squaws fought more desperately and fiercely than the bucks, and it was literally impossible to avoid or shield them from the storm.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1865—GEN. P. E. CONNOR—DEATH OF MAJOR JOHN S. FILLMORE—HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER—EFFECTS OF THE SAND CREEK MASSACRE—RENEWAL OF THE WAR—FURTHER APPEALS FOR TROOPS—COLONEL MOONLIGHT DECLARES MARTIAL LAW—MILITIA CALLED OUT—DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY—BANKS AND BANKING—FOUNDING OF THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK—CHAFFEE AND MOFFAT—ARRIVAL OF SCHUYLER COLFAX—MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN TO THE MINERS OF THE WEST—THE PACIFIC RAILROAD—REVIVAL OF THE STATE MOVEMENT—CONSTITUTION RATIFIED—SAND CREEK AN ELEMENT IN THE CAMPAIGN—NEGRO SUFFRAGE—ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR CUMMINGS—A TURBULENT ADMINISTRATION—ROUNDING UP THE TERRITORIAL OFFICERS—HIS ATTACK ON SECRETARY ELBERT—SOME RACY CORRESPONDENCE—ALIENATING THE JEWS—A SEASON OF BITTER POLITICAL WARFARE—ELBERT RESIGNS, AND THE AUTHOR IS APPOINTED TO SUCCEED HIM—FEARFUL SCENES IN SOUTH PARK—THE BLOODY ESPINOSAS.

During the absence of the Third regiment and the greater part of the First Colorado cavalry, that is to say, all available troops, General P. E. Connor, already noted as an Indian fighter, arrived in Denver to investigate the condition of affairs here, and with the view of discovering ways and means for the better protection of the traveled routes between this city and the Missouri river. At a later date, as will appear, he was placed in command of this military district.

The last week in December, 1864, as if to fittingly close this tempestuous year in which events crowded so thick and fast upon each other, and which was rendered memorable by a series of political and tragic incidents without parallel in our annals, dark and bloody as were the opening chapters, the town was visited by a succession of gales which threatened death to the inhabitants and the destruction of their

property. During the greater part of the autumn the weather had been unusually fine up to the 23d of the closing month, with the exception of a severe snow storm in October, mentioned in the preceding chapter. On the date named, high winds rose and blew with increasing fury until the 26th, when they subsided, and were followed by snow. This was one of the severest and most protracted storms of which we have any record.

On the night of the 23d, Major John S. Fillmore met his death. Since 1860 he had been one of the more prominent of our citizens and business men, apart from his official position as paymaster in the army. After he had retired to bed, the gale took off one of the chimney tops, which, falling with a great noise upon the roof above his head, filled him with alarm and nervous excitement, so that he arose and went down stairs. When at the foot he turned and called to his wife, requesting her to come down. The words had scarcely left his lips when he fell forward and immediately expired from a sudden hemorrhage.

Major Fillmore possessed marvelous energy and great capacity for the successful conduct of public affairs. Though his duties called him frequently to great distances and long absences, he was nevertheless a leading spirit in most of the public enterprises of his time. Imbued with almost inspirational confidence in the future of this city, his plans were laid to meet what he believed to be the coming of a period when it would become a large and wealthy metropolis. The possessions he acquired on the corners of the streets which have since risen to centers of trade, attest his penetration and his faith. To him the merchants who had taken Governor Gilpin's drafts on the United States treasury were mainly indebted for their final adjustment. The buildings he erected were among the best of the time in which he lived. As an officer and citizen he was universally esteemed. His peculiar qualities commanded the respect of his fellow men. The vast amount of labor he performed, and the resistless power of his unquenchable energy carried him through every trial, but it told severely upon his slender physique. Traveling in those days was necessarily arduous

and fatiguing. If a distant point were to be reached he could not select the mode of conveyance, but must proceed with the best that offered. He frequently slept upon the open prairie or in the mountains without food or shelter, sometimes exposed to pitiless storms. In one of the last, just before his death, the hardships he endured hastened the culmination of the disease which for some time had been undermining his rather delicate constitution, and he fell as we have seen, and instantly passed away.

The Sand Creek massacre scotched but failed to kill the aboriginal serpent. The Indians, now thoroughly infuriated, and thirsting for vengeance, again combined and plunged headlong into assaults upon our isolated settlers, and every line of communication, thereby increasing a thousand fold the horrors of the preceding year. Usually quiet in winter, they now abandoned themselves to deadly reprisals upon our people and commerce, for the losses they had sustained. The deluge of the most formidable uprising ever witnessed on the frontier poured out upon it, extending from the Missouri river to Salt Lake, and well over toward the Sierra Nevadas. It seemed as if an army of fiends had been turned loose to work their utmost cruelty upon mankind. So great was the necessity for immediate action, acting Governor Elbert was forced to issue a proclamation calling upon the territory for armed men to meet the emergency. His call was for six companies of independent cavalry, each to consist of sixty men, for three months' service on the plains, assuring them that Col. George L. Shoup, a magic name with soldiers, would be placed in command. The city was threatened with famine. Flour rose to twenty-five dollars per one hundred pounds and all other supplies in proportion. The redskins ravaged all our thoroughfares, cutting off merchandise trains.

But the denunciations heaped upon Sand Creek, and the disgrace pronounced upon that enterprise, together with the disasters of 1864, prevented voluntary responses. The companies were not furnished, nor did there appear to be any disposition among the people to meet

this new phase of affairs. Owing to the great scarcity of bread-winners, wages mounted to four, five and six dollars per diem, and skilled mechanics were in demand at seven dollars a day.

On the 4th of January, 1865, Col. Thomas Moonlight of Kansas (at this writing governor of Wyoming territory) assumed command of this military district. The legislature being in session, he suggested to that body certain amendments to the existing militia law that would enable men when called into the service to receive pay for the same, and providing also, for bounties and compensation for horses.

After waiting two weeks, there being no prospect of an agreement between the two houses upon certain features of the bill, the urgency being great, Moonlight took the bull by the horns and proclaimed martial law, shutting up all places of business, stopping every department of industry, including the mines and mills, in brief, suspending every branch of industrial life until the troops called for should be furnished.

Governor Elbert made the following apportionment: Arapahoe county to furnish two companies; Gilpin county, the same; Clear Creek and Jefferson, each one company; Boulder, Larimer and Weld, one company between them. This order rigidly enforced, speedily brought the volunteers. By February 20th the several quotas were filled and marched to the front down toward Julesburg, but not one of the men got even so much as a glimpse of an Indian during the entire period of their enlistment. Notwithstanding, their judicious distribution along the line between Denver and Julesburg afforded protection to the stages and transportation trains.

On the 11th of February General G. M. Dodge took command of the department of Kansas, to which the district of Colorado was attached, and immediately ordered Moonlight to throw all his available force on the line named above. David H. Moffat, Jr., was appointed Adjutant General of the militia, and assuming therewith the duties of Quartermaster, collected and pushed to the front supplies and transportation. About the 1st of March the districts of Utah, Colorado

and Nebraska were merged into one military district, and Brigadier General P. E. Connor appointed to command.

On the 27th of April the militia returned to Denver, and thus ended our part in the war so far as citizen soldiery was concerned. The collapse of the rebellion permitted the transfer of a large force from the East to the plains, and in due time the Indians were temporarily subjugated. A treaty of peace was entered into in October, 1865, which provided that no part of their reservation should be within the state of Kansas. When fully understood by the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, they discovered that by this proviso they had been forever cast out of any permanent abiding place, in other words, that they had neither reservation, lands nor rights except the right to make war, and of this they promptly availed themselves. In the summer of 1867 General W. S. Hancock attacked and destroyed a Cheyenne village of three hundred lodges, for which he was severely handled by the Indian bureau and the peace-at-any-price people.

Next followed the treaty of Medicine Lodge Creek, October 28th, 1867, which, when concluded, took away their hunting grounds between the Platte and the Arkansas, and exiled the entire tribe to the Indian territory, a removal which could only be accomplished by force. A year later Black Kettle, with the last remnant of his followers, was attacked by General Custer in the Antelope Hills, on the Wichita river, and the band nearly exterminated. Custer's force had been for some time on the track of the hostiles, without, however, discovering the trail to their headquarters. At last it was found by a fortunate accident, and the troops followed straightway to the general encampment of both the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. It was stealthily approached, and the charge made at daybreak by a strong force of cavalry. The Indians, hunted to their "last ditch," so to speak, fought desperately, the women more fiercely resisting, and more courageously charging the troopers than the warriors. They shot to kill, making no effort whatever to shield or save themselves. A flanking company which had been detached to strike the rear of the

camp, unexpectedly encountered a large band of Arapahoes, and every man was slain. Custer found them all together where they fell, piled up in ghastly heaps, but the Indians had disappeared.

In 1873-4 General Miles had a long contest with the Southern Cheyennes, but pursued them so hotly and continuously they were compelled to surrender March 6th, 1874. In 1876 the Sioux and Northern Cheyennes united in another outbreak, which culminated in the massacre of General Custer with his entire command at Little Big Horn. On the 25th of November General Mackenzie destroyed a large village of Cheyennes, which left them so decimated and broken there was no alternative but to surrender and submit to being placed on a reservation in Indian territory.

We pass now from the field of war to the development of the country, as a sort of respite from almost incessant strife, in which manifold new lines, industrial and commercial, were established. The financial institutions of the city of Denver down to the year 1865 had been personal ventures, the first banking house having been established by George W. Brown, who was also the first Collector of Internal Revenue, Daniel Witter being the assessor. Next came O. D. Cass & Co., followed by Warren Hussey, who also founded a branch in Central City, of which Mr. J. A. Thatcher (now president of the Denver National bank) was for many years the manager, and subsequently president of the First National in the same place, with Mr. Frank C. Young as cashier. C. A. Cook & Co., Turner & Hobbs and Clark & Co. carried on private banks, but we believe that Cook's was the only one which issued a paper currency.

April 17th, 1865, the First National bank received from the first comptroller of the treasury authority to organize, with Jerome B. Chaffee as president, Henry J. Rogers as vice-president, and George T. Clark, cashier, the business of Clark & Co. having been absorbed by the new concern. The stockholders were A. M. Clark, M. E. Clark, Bela S. Buell, J. B. Chaffee, H. J. Rogers, George T. Clark, C. A. Cook and Eben Smith.

The bank opened for business May 9th, 1865, and simultaneously George T. Clark & Co. opened a private banking house in Central City. Prior to this, as far back as 1860, James E. Lyon, George M. Pullman, D. A. Gage and others had carried on a money and gold brokerage business in the mines as a substitute for regular banking.

The First National bank building was erected on the northeast corner of Blake and Fifteenth streets by Eben Smith, at a cost of about forty-five thousand dollars, and at the time was by far the most imposing block in the city, and for many years stood as the center of business. The first issue of currency was made August 22d, 1865, the first note signed having been presented to William N. Byers, editor of the Rocky Mountain "News."

In 1867 D. H. Moffat, Jr., of the firm of Woolworth & Moffat, booksellers and stationers, was elected cashier of the bank, which position he retained until 1880, when by the retirement of Mr. Chaffee he became its president. From the date of his election as cashier the institution, which had not been remarkably prosperous, owing to defective management, began to assume a dignity and stability theretofore unknown, through the introduction of methods which evinced the presence of a masterful hand in the administration of its affairs. It grew steadily in public confidence until it became in the later eras one of the leading financial institutions of the West. By the force of his genius for this kind of work, Mr. Moffat soon acquired great power and influence, was in truth the First National personified, Mr. Chaffee being absent most of the time deeply immersed in politics and extensive mining operations. Here, too, was cemented the extraordinary friendship existing between these two distinguished leaders, the one in finance, the other in political affairs, which remained unshaken until the death of Mr. Chaffee in 1886.

On the 27th of May, 1865, arrived Hon. Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Lieut. Governor Wm. Bross, of Illinois, Albert D. Richardson, of the New York "Tribune," and Samuel Bowles, editor of the Springfield "Republican." For some

time previous Mr. Colfax had made this excursion one of his cherished projects, and only awaited a convenient opportunity for carrying it into effect. In the closing session of the Thirty-sixth Congress he mapped out the plan of a trip to California overland. From the beginning of settlement here he had been the principal champion of our interests in and out of Congress. The subject of a Pacific railroad had long engaged his attention, and that he might be better informed and therefore fully equipped to aid the measure then before the country, he resolved to examine the proposed route and on his return make the result of his observations an effective instrument for the passage of needed amendments to the bill. Notwithstanding the generous offers made by Congress as inducements for the construction of the road, the movement dragged. The scheme was rather too colossal for the capitalists of that day, who stood appalled at the enormous amount of money required for such an undertaking. They were not accustomed to enterprises which involved the expenditure of sixty to seventy millions of dollars, and knowing little about the country it was intended to traverse, except that it was, with the exception of Salt Lake City, an unsettled and comparatively barren region, it seemed like an extra hazardous investment. It was to inspire a more active interest in it that Mr. Colfax was induced to make the journey.

The war was over, the country prosperous. Having decided to start on a certain day, he made a final call upon President Lincoln, who said, "You are going to California, I hear. How I would rejoice to make this trip, but public duties chain me down here, and I can only envy you its pleasures. Now I have been thinking over a speech I want you to make for me to the miners you may find on the journey," and this was the speech that Mr. Colfax delivered to the miners at a public meeting held in Central City.

"I have," said he, "very large ideas of the mineral wealth of our nation. I believe it practically inexhaustible. It abounds all over the Western country, from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, and its development has scarcely commenced. During the war, when we were

adding a couple of millions of dollars every day to our national debt, I did not care about encouraging the increase in the volume of the precious metals. We had the country to save first. But now that the rebellion is overthrown, and we know pretty nearly the amount of our national debt, the more gold and silver we mine makes the payment of that debt so much the easier. Now," said he, speaking with much emphasis, "I am going to encourage that in every possible way. We shall have hundreds of thousands of disbanded soldiers, and many have feared that their return home in such great numbers might paralyze industry by furnishing suddenly a greater supply of labor than there will be demand for. I am going to try to attract them to the hidden wealth of our mountain ranges, where there is room for all. Immigration, which even the war has not stopped, will land upon our shores hundreds of thousands more per year from overcrowded Europe. I intend to point them to the gold and silver that waits for them in the West. Tell the miners from me that I shall promote their interests to the utmost of my ability, because their prosperity is the prosperity of the nation; and," said he, his eye kindling with enthusiasm, "we shall prove in a very few years that we are indeed the treasury of the world."

Such was the message and the prophecy, in the fulness of years abundantly verified, which the immortal President bade his chosen representative deliver to the miners of the Rocky Mountains. With rare perspicuity he comprehended their need of willing hands to push on the work of developing the vast resources planted here, and had laid his plans to assist in furnishing them, as a part of the many he had formed for the regeneration and rehabilitation of the country after the results of the war should have been fully adjusted.

From the earliest epoch the press and people had been almost shrieking their invitations into the ears of capital and labor at the East to come out and take a hand in the mighty effort we were making to found a new State in the western wilderness, and it was Mr. Lincoln's great purpose to encourage the formation of industrial columns armed with picks, shovels and plowshares for the new conquest of peace.

It was the last message he ever delivered, almost the last words of his life.

In June, 1865, the political elements recommenced the agitation of the State question, with the view of starting a new movement for organization under the Enabling Act of 1864 which they insisted was still alive, and its provisions therefore available if the people chose to take advantage of them. On this occasion Jerome B. Chaffee assumed the direction of affairs, and having spent some time in the greater schools of politics in New York and Washington, and being by taste and nature well fitted for the conduct of political movements, he took a position which eventuated in his elevation to the headship of the Republican party in Colorado.

On the 13th of July a petition extensively signed, and reciting that to secure the permanent location and construction of the Pacific railway through this territory, and to obtain protection for our miners, with titles to their property, it was indispensable that we should have proper representation in the halls of Congress, with many other well considered reasons, was presented to the executive committees of the several political organizations, requesting them to issue a joint call for a constitutional convention to consider the propriety of making application for admission into the Union. The reader will comprehend the shrewdness of this appeal, which was intended, first to silence partizan opposition and then to bring all the elements into a general convention for the single purpose of begetting a charter, which when obtained would leave each party free to lay its own particular nets for the loaves and fishes in the event of its acceptance by the people.

The committees assenting readily to the proposition, the call was published July 19th for a convention to be held in Denver, August 8th. Public feeling had undergone some change since the last attempt, but there still existed much violent opposition, owing partly to the revival of old combinations, but chiefly to the sparsity of population. But with the disbandment of the armies a new tide of emigration began to set in from the East. It seemed as if the spirit of Lincoln were directing the

exalted purpose of his speech. At all events we grew stronger and more confident now that the Indian troubles had been quieted, and the hostile influences removed from our principal thoroughfares. The mining sales of 1864, though ill-advised and in the main unfortunate ventures for the purchasers, brought much new blood into the veins of local enterprise.

The convention met in the People's theater August 8th, elected W. A. H. Loveland president, and O. J. Hollister temporary secretary. Hollister resigned, when Webster D. Anthony was chosen permanent secretary. The organization perfected, a resolution was introduced, duly considered and adopted, declaring it expedient to proceed to the institution of a State government, and that application should be made at the earliest possible date for admission. This time there were no embarrassing alliances, and but little pronounced opposition. All parties met in harmonious deliberation for the common purpose of bettering the general condition. The constitution as framed went to the people on its merits as a distinct proposition without reference to State officers, Senators or other entanglements.

After full and free discussion the vote was taken and the instrument found to have received a majority of one hundred and fifty-five, a result which demonstrated a strong current of remonstrance, and when analyzed was discovered to be for the most part south of the Arkansas river, where the people were rather more content with the territorial system than those of the northern division, and it was broadly hinted from that quarter that the meager majority had been secured by skillful manipulation of the returns. Still, it was not seriously contested. Here the effort to overthrow the project terminated, and the two parties rallied their forces in a resolute endeavor to capture the spoils. Conventions were held and tickets for State officers, Congress and a general assembly put in the field. That of the Republicans or Union administration men, convened October 16th. On the 19th Alexander Cummings of Philadelphia arrived as the successor of John Evans who had resigned as territorial governor, and thus was introduced the chief factor in the ultimate defeat of our admission as a State, as will shortly appear.

The Democrats nominated Captain William Craig for Governor; George A. Hinsdale for Lieutenant-Governor; D. D. Belden for Congress; Stanley Hatch for Secretary of State; J. J. Mallory for Treasurer; Hugh Butler for Attorney General, and Lawrence N. Greenleaf for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The Union administrationists nominated George M. Chilcott for Congress; William Gilpin for Governor; Dr. Eugene F. Holland for Lieutenant-Governor; J. H. Gest for Secretary of State; Warren Hussey for Treasurer; U. B. Holloway for Attorney General; Rufus K. Frisbee for Superintendent of Public Instruction; for the Supreme Bench, W. R. Gorsline, A. A. Bradford and J. Bright Smith.

Sand Creek became a prominent and an incessantly intrusive feature of the campaign. It entered into, permeated, and, it may be said, literally infested every stage of the contest. The Republicans were compelled to put a plank in their platform condemning the malevolent attacks upon the soldiers of Colorado who were engaged in that sanguinary affair, and declaring that they would not support for political office any person who now sympathized, or who had sympathized with the Indians that made war upon our people and our commerce, or who had at any time denounced the officers and men who had so gallantly fought the battle of Sand Creek. It would seem that this pronunciamiento was sufficiently emphatic to satisfy the most violent Sand Creeker—but it was not. So they resolved to have a Sand Creek ticket, pure and unadulterated, from top to bottom. Every nominee who failed to indorse that battle in its entirety without evasion or qualification, was to be crucified and forever branded as the Iscariot of his race. The leaders of this intolerant faction, bent upon the consummation of their purpose, sent this ticket to the people for ratification:

For Governor, Edwin Scudder; for Lieutenant Governor, George L. Shoup; for Secretary of State, J. H. Gest; for Treasurer, Alex W. Atkins; for Attorney General, U. B. Holloway; for Congress, George M. Chilcott, and for Supreme Judges, Jacob Downing, William R. Gorsline and Jesus Maria Velasquez.



Yours Respectfully
J. J. I. Paul

John M. Chivington, James M. Cavanaugh and John B. Wolff came out as independent candidates for Congress, but the first named soon withdrew in favor of Chilcott, deeming his record on the subject of Sand Creek wholly irreproachable, and therefore worthy of support. The election occurred in September, and when the returns came in it was discovered that the Union administrationists had elected all of their ticket excepting Lieutenant Governor and Treasurer. This party had expended its greatest efforts upon the nominees for the General Assembly, with especial reference to the subsequent election of U. S. Senators.

The legislature met in Golden City on the 18th of December, and elected John Evans and Jerome B. Chaffee, Senators. Though the question of negro suffrage had been submitted with the State ticket, it was overwhelmingly negatived, but the assembly in joint session adopted a resolution pledging itself to adopt the proposed amendment to the constitution of the United States abolishing slavery, in the event of the admission of Colorado as a State—a sop to Cerberus which failed to satisfy him. The session continued only a few days, when it adjourned, subject to call of the Governor. Meanwhile, on the 12th of September, the territorial machine being still intact, a legislature was elected as provided by statute.

The advent of Governor Cummings was not hailed with enthusiasm by any class of people except the leaders of the anti-state faction, which, though small, was a constantly active and irritating contingent led by A. C. Hunt. Of all the executives ever imposed upon this or any other Territory, Cummings was perhaps the most unpopular because wholly unfitted by the peculiar bent of his disposition to govern a free and radically independent people. The contest for supremacy which ensued almost immediately upon his installation, increased in virulence until, after a stormy and wholly unfruitful administration he shook the dust from his shoes and bade us a final, but by no means reluctant farewell. He was one of those who by nature and association seem determined to exact homage and servile obedience from the lower stratum, and reverence from all who are above them in political station. He was stiff

necked, obstinate, wilful and craftily able; an Aaron Burr in fertility of resource, but lacking his diplomacy; educated, scholarly, a clear and forcible writer and speaker, but pig-headed and dictatorial to the last degree. Yet he was easily led, twisted and distorted in the wrong direction by those who were, or appeared to be, ready instruments for the accomplishment of his designs. He hated, despised and unremittingly antagonized all who opposed him, and to procure their downfall proceeded to any and every extreme. He was readily approachable when accompanied by the deference and humility which he felt to be due to the dignity of his exalted position, of which, it is needless to say, he entertained a grossly exaggerated estimate. He had come to Colorado to be its Governor, in other words, according to his conception, its commander. Therefore, he required of all men the respectful and suppliant manner that is extended only to the chief magistrate of the nation. He came, not as the servant of the people, but as their master, and believing that the entire scheme of government should be under his personal direction and supreme control. Among the first of his official acts was the issuance of a proclamation of thanksgiving wherein he advised the people to "assemble at their places of worship and render unto God devout thanksgiving for the riches of his grace manifested through his Son, Jesus Christ." This raised a storm about his ears within twenty minutes after its promulgation. The Hebrews, even then a considerable element of our population, considered themselves debarred from rendering thanks after the manner proposed, and virtually cast out from the national festival. It was without precedent or warrant, and in direct violation of the spirit, if not the strict letter of the constitution. Anyhow it was deemed utterly unjustifiable, so they resented it vociferously. Some attempts were made to induce His Excellency to modify the offending clause, but without effect. The objections urged only riveted his determination not to alter a syllable. It should stand as uttered, and the Jews must make the best of it. He had intended neither discourtesy nor exclusion, therefore he would not abate one jot nor tittle of the record.

The more ardent of the State leaders cherished the hope that the State would be admitted by executive proclamation immediately after the senators elect should have reached Washington and laid their credentials before the President, hence it would be superfluous to hold another territorial legislative session, or to treat the territorial administration as anything more than a temporary affair which would soon be wholly superseded. But events proved that they reckoned without comprehending the designs of the man who represented it. Cummings had no intention of being shut out from the delicious privilege of preparing and delivering a message to the legislature, which lay very near his heart. Finding the impression to be widely extended that the assembly should not and would not be convened at the time provided by law, and charging its responsibility to the State leaders, he issued a rather venomous proclamation, stating that inasmuch as certain parties were attempting to discourage the meeting of that body, he begged to remind them that the State was not yet admitted, and that until admitted the territorial regime would be observed and maintained in spite of all opposition; also intimating rather significantly that Congress was very busy reconstructing the States lately in rebellion, and might not have time to consider the somewhat irregular request for admission, especially in view of the fact that the people had last year formally and legally declined to accept the Congressional proffer of statehood. Here, then, was an unmistakable challenge, so construed, and the gage of battle accepted by the State men, who aligned their forces to meet it.

Cummings selected his confidential friends from those who had distinguished themselves in opposing the State, but as chief adviser A. C. Hunt, late United States Marshal, a man of great shrewdness, indomitable energy, fully acquainted with every settlement, highway and cross road, and withal eminently qualified to direct the campaign now resolved upon. It was not long before a conflict of authority arose between the Governor and Secretary Elbert. Suspecting Elbert of being diligently concerned in the conspiracy to discourage the meeting of the legislature, and knowing him to be in active sympathy with the State organization,

he soon found occasion to precipitate a quarrel, by attempting to reduce the Secretary to the grade of a clerk and servant, subject at all times to the royal will. Feigning alarm lest the great seal of the territory should be put to unlawful uses, he surreptitiously entered the Secretary's office during the temporary absence of that official, and carried off the seal to his own quarters. Here was a supplemental declaration of hostility, designed to be interpreted as war to the knife, and further, that no quarter would be asked or given.

Under the strict construction of the organic act, the Secretary was in no wise within the control of the Governor. His duties were distinctly prescribed by that instrument. He was made the custodian of the public funds and the disbursing agent of the treasury, matters over which the executive could exercise no legal jurisdiction whatever, and with which he had no right to interfere. He was required to attest the signature of the Governor to public documents, and to keep a record of his official acts. But the irascible Philadelphian took a different view of it. The Secretary must submit himself to such discipline and unquestioning obedience as he, in defiance of law or custom, chose to exact.

Elbert, in a short but entirely respectful note, demanded the return of the seal, making Eli M. Ashley the bearer of his message. The Governor replied at great length, in which he opened and recklessly poured out the vials of his wrath for all real and imaginary offences against his administration. It was especially designed to establish the status of his office as against that of his predecessor and his adherents ; against the State by attacking it through one of its leading advocates, in short, a furiously bellicose announcement that the Anti-state party with himself at the head, intended not only to maintain its position, but to force the fighting.

He saw no reason why the Secretary should be the exclusive custodian of the seal, and he knew of many reasons why he should not have it at all ; that he had been extremely careless with that sacred instrument, leaving it exposed to the public gaze when it should have been secreted, and inferentially to public desecration ; that Elbert was none too good to

employ it in authenticating documents of a treasonable nature; charged him with constantly absenting himself from his office, with neglect of duty, with crimes and conspiracies; with leaving his door open and his desk unlocked, so that any person could enter and work his will upon important records and papers, and with manifold other delinquencies. He raked him fore and aft with grape, canister, shell and solid shot, striking with fierce venom at every point; arraigned him before the bar of public opinion for a most infamous fraud in connection with the returns of votes cast at an election held under the Enabling Act, whereby a majority for the constitution was made to appear, when as a matter of fact it was rejected, asserting his ability to establish the crime from indisputable evidence. He went even further, and charged him with an attempt to break up the Territorial government, saying: "I know personally of efforts of your own to mislead the public mind in regard to the provisions for and necessity of the meeting of the legislative assembly which, had they not been arrested by my action, would undoubtedly have subverted the government here."

To place all the officers under his personal direction, he rented on his own responsibility a suite of rooms for himself and them and compelled their occupation. Elbert refused to obey these orders. As the disbursing officer, accountable to the Treasury Department alone for the expenditures, his fund limited to the last stage of attenuation, he realized that the utmost economy must be observed to make the scanty appropriations cover the legitimate expenses. He alone was charged with the duty of renting apartments, therefore he very properly resisted this unauthorized invasion of his rights.

David A. Cheever, the executive clerk under Evans, was at this time engaged in transcribing the records, filing papers and closing up the work of the preceding administration. The Governor, by craftily questioning him, endeavored to worm out the darker secrets of his employer, for such use as might be made of them to further the end in view. The information elicited, though of no value for the purpose in hand, by ingenious perversion was converted into serious charges.

Elbert instantly sent him a Roland for his Oliver, by responding at even greater length, and caustically reviewing the antecedents of the belligerent Governor, paying especial attention to the latter portion of his career. An able lawyer, and an incisive writer, the Secretary after repelling every charge of his dyspeptic adversary, plunged into an exhaustive and scathing expose of Cummings' connection with one of the most glaring and gigantic swindles of the war, committed while a purchasing agent of the government, and intimating that in appropriating the great seal he was simply obeying an instinct of his nature which impelled him to seize upon any and all movable property within his reach, hence the writer's objection to being located within reach of his hands. If Cummings' letter was sharp and cuttingly severe, the rejoinder was even more damaging. This remarkable correspondence being published, created much excitement throughout the Territory. Thereafter, parties and individuals governed themselves by the state of belligerency thus positively defined.

Cummings had long been an active supporter and friend of Simon Cameron, who stood unflinchingly by his friends, right or wrong, and it was this quality combined with great wealth and a genius for political strategy, which enabled him to control the destinies of the State of Pennsylvania. While Secretary of War he appointed Cummings an agent to purchase certain supplies for the army, which in process of time got both into trouble. Under this commission he purchased a mixed cargo of Scotch ale, London porter, codfish, three hundred boxes of selected herring, a large assortment of straw hats, several thousand pairs of linen trousers, with eight hundred condemned carbines, and chartered the steamer Cataline to transport this extraordinary consignment to the troops in the field. His disbursements on this account ran up to one hundred and sixty thousand dollars. The matter was made the subject of an investigation by Congress, which put a sudden end to his career, and became a national scandal. Then through the influence of his patron he was sent out to govern Colorado.

Having alienated the Jews, and the State faction beyond the hope

of reconciliation, his next move was to put the territorial librarian and all officers who would submit to his demands under his feet. The storm he had been mainly instrumental in creating, in its counter attacks through the press rendered him still more irritable and domineering. The great question of extending the elective franchise to the negroes came in as a disturbing problem, not to him but to the State men. The colored people were quick to observe that the results of the civil war left the government no alternative but to grant them the coveted right, and felt that it ought to begin in the Territories. They demanded the opening of the public schools to their children. The vote taken at one of the elections (in 1865) determined the case against them, but they were not content to abide by this decision. They drew up and circulated a petition asking the legislature to grant them the suffrage, and admission to the schools that they were taxed to maintain. The Governor finding in this vigorous movement a powerful weapon of advantage, used it mercilessly. He sent it with a special message to the House and Council, strongly indorsing the appeal. The assembly falling back upon the vote of the people, declared that it was asked to do something which the people had rejected and flatly refused to consider it. It was a new question then; ages of slavery had instilled the serf and slave idea so deeply it was not readily eradicable. The dawn of a new light was necessary to remove the prejudice of centuries from the minds of even the more radical supporters of the Union. While some favored giving the negroes a portion of the school fund for the erection of separate schools, the great majority shrank from the idea of more intimate contact with the down-trodden blacks. But the wheels of justice were revolving slowly though surely, and the turn was near at hand when the American people would be forced to a decision. Radicalism in Congress, to meet the exigencies of reconstruction, found itself compelled to protect the millions of freedmen by giving them the ballot, which carried with it all the rights of citizenship.

The principal object of our crafty Governor in taking this matter

in hand, was to commit the legislature against it by an expression that could be employed before the radical leaders in Congress as an argument against the admission of the State. Having secured the rejection of the petition, he prepared an elaborate paper setting forth the facts colored to suit his purpose, an art in which he was an adept, and sent it down to Washington.

On the 12th of January, 1866, Andrew Johnson sent this message to Congress: "I transmit herewith a communication addressed to me by Messrs. John Evans and J. B. Chaffee as U. S. Senators elect from the State of Colorado, together with accompanying documents. Under authority of the act of Congress, received the 21st day of March, 1864, the people of Colorado, through a convention framed a constitution making provision for a state government which, when submitted to the qualified voters of the Territory, was rejected. In the summer of 1865 a second convention of the several political parties in the Territory was called, which assembled at Denver on the 8th day of August. On the 12th of that month this convention adopted a state constitution which was submitted to the people on the 12th day of September and ratified by a majority of one hundred and fifty-five of the qualified voters. The proceedings in the second instance having differed in time and mode from those specified in the act of March 21st, 1864, I have declined to issue the proclamation for which provision is made in the 5th section of the law, and therefore submit the question for consultation and further action of Congress."

It was generally understood at the time that much of the President's prejudice against Evans and Chaffee, as also against the movement they represented, had been incited by Governor Cummings who, directly or through influential friends, held the key to his opinions concerning Colorado. W. J. Hardin, the colored orator, a man of some ability, was brought into the breach as an influence with Charles Sumner and his coadjutors in the cause of the blacks. He was especially forceful in advocating the right of suffrage and admission to the public schools, and by his letters continued to exert material influence. As the fight pro-

gressed the Governor became more and more aggressive. He sent in an executive protest against admission, upon the ground of frauds in the election and in canvassing the returns, among other weighty reasons. Nevertheless, the lower house of the legislature passed a concurrent resolution setting forth the advantages of statehood, and urging Congress to pass the bill. The council a few days later passed the same with amendments, one of which instructed Senators Evans and Chaffee to use all honorable means to have the main line of the Union Pacific Railroad located on the Smoky Hill route and westward through Berthoud Pass.

While the legislature was still in session Secretary Elbert left for the East, placing E. M. Ashley in charge of his office, and its duties, including the payment of the members and other expenses. The funds being deposited with the superintendent of the Branch mint, Cummings went down there and endeavored to prevent the payment of the checks, but without avail. Ashley issued them as directed, and they were paid, the superintendent promptly honoring Elbert's signature.

Unknown to any one except his confidential assistant, Elbert, on the first of January, 1866, finding his connection with the executive intolerable, sent his resignation to Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State, who retained it without acceptance or acknowledgment until February 6th, when it was accepted. On being notified of this happy turn of events, Cummings began to look about for a successor, and fixed upon Mr. Frank Hall, a member of the house of representatives from Gilpin county, who was sent for, and the proposition laid before him. Being then engaged in the publication of a daily newspaper at Central City, and having no ambition for political office, Mr. Hall declined the urgently proffered distinction. But Cummings insisted, and at length forwarded the nomination to the President. The Senate confirmed the selection, and in due time the commission was transmitted. Though repeatedly importuned to assume the duties of the office, I felt unwilling to attach myself to the existing administration, all of my sympathies and most of my social and political affiliations being with the promoters of state organization, whom I had no intention of antag-

onizing. Thus from February until May the appointment lay in the Governor's hands. At last, after consulting the leading Republicans, and obtaining their views, the office was accepted upon the reason urged that if I refused, Cummings would secure a candidate in full accord with his programme, and be thus enabled to work further injury to the State movement. I assumed charge of the Secretary's office on the 2d of May, 1866. On the 3d the Governor departed in haste for Washington. Thereafter political affairs remained tranquil until after the regular autumn election, when new causes of disturbance arose with the return of his turbulent Excellency.

Through failure to discover certain facts relating to an important event which occurred in 1863 in time for its incorporation with the chronicles of that year, I am impelled to present it at the close of this chapter.

In the spring of the year mentioned, the entire region of country between Pueblo and Park counties, indeed all sections of the Territory, became in a measure panic stricken by accounts of terrible and mysterious massacres of travelers on the lonely roads leading from the southwest to the South Park. Every little while, residents of certain localities disappeared, and upon search being instituted by friends, their dead bodies were found. Who committed these horrible deeds no one could comprehend, since all traces were lost. The first victim in the neighborhood of Cañon City—we follow Capt. Rockafellow's narrative—was William Bruce on Hardscrabble Creek. He went to his sawmill twelve miles from his residence, but not returning to his home at the time expected, search was made, when he was found shot through the heart. While wondering over this tragic event, another strange murder occurred at another sawmill in El Paso county, on the Little Fountaine about sixty miles from the scene mentioned above, where the body of an old man named Harkins was found killed, apparently, with a hatchet. Next a man named Addleman was slain, on his ranch situated near the road leading from Colorado City to the South Park. Next a brother of Colonel George L. Shoup, and a man named Binckley were

found butchered in the Red Hills in the Park itself. Soon after, a man named Carter was killed at Cottage Grove near Alma. Then two men named Lehman and Seyga shared the same fate in the Red Hills, an admirable place for the assassins because of the concealment offered by the thickets and timber near by. Consternation filled every mind. The air was loaded with rumors, but not a soul could give even the faintest clue to the origin or purpose of these appalling tragedies. A superstitious dread prevailed throughout the South Park region, for it was there that the greatest number of bodies had been found. No one dared to venture out upon the roads by day or night, for none had escaped death who did so.

While riding through the region on horseback in the summer of 1864, the different scenes of these murders were pointed out to me, and the principal incidents, so far as they were known, related by a companion who was a resident of California Gulch. From this source I learned that the first clue discovered occurred somewhat as follows: The driver of an ox team who was hauling a load of lumber from the neighborhood of what is now Alma, to Fairplay, was fired upon from a thicket by the roadside. The shot struck his left breast, but was stopped from entering his body by a copy of Lincoln's emancipation proclamation and a memorandum book in his breast pocket. Looking instantly in the direction from which the bullet had come, he discovered two men, whom he at first thought to be Indians from their tawny color, but a second glance proved them to be Mexicans. He had little time for reflection however, for his team, affrighted by the sharp report of the rifle, ran away as fast as their legs could carry them, and though one of the Mexicans drew his gun to shoulder for a second shot, it was not fired. Speeding in all haste to Fairplay the driver related his experience to the citizens, when measures were taken for pursuit.

Capt. John McCannon who led the first party in search of the Espinosas—the name of these Mexican butchers—subsequently wrote a detailed account of it, from which it appears that Lehman and Seyga were residents of California Gulch, and when the news of their murder

reached the gulch, a meeting was called for the purpose of raising funds and volunteers to track the assassins. A call for volunteers being made, the following responded: Joseph M. Lamb, Julius Sanger, O. T. McCannon, Thomas S. Wells, C. F. Wilson, Wm. R. McComb, John Gilbert, Frank Miller, Fred Fredericks, Wm. Youngh, James Foley, John Landin, Charles Nathrop, John Holtz, John Endelman, William Woodward and John McCannon, the latter being elected commander of the company.

Proceeding to the South Park, they scouted the country in every direction, the command being divided into detachments. At length, after much night and day scouting, a trail was discovered which led Capt. McCannon and the men with him to the haunt of the bloody Espinosas, a weird cañon on the west side of Four Mile Creek near a dense thicket of willows. Here they found two horses, one hobbled, in a little park on the south side of the gulch. Says McCannon, "I dispatched Foley, Youngh, Fredericks and Landin with instructions to go around the bluff and get into the cañon below, and to carefully push their way along up the cañon while we covered the horses with our guns. In a short time the largest of the Espinosas came out of the willows and commenced taking off the hobbles that held his horse. Joseph M. Lamb fired, the ball breaking the second rib on the right side and passing directly through, broke the second rib on the left side. Sanger fired next, with buckshot, but the horse stumbling over the desperado, received the charge. Espinosa raised up on his elbow and commenced firing at me, as I had left my position to look after the other one, supposing that Lamb's and Sanger's firing had done the work. Charles Carter, then fired, the ball striking Espinosa between the eyes, and ranging back, killed him instantly. The other one came in sight, but got off without a shot, through a mistake. I had my gun leveled on him, when Julius Sanger cried out, 'For God's sake don't kill Billy Youngh!' They were about the same size, and were dressed alike. I dropped my gun to get a better look, and he (the Espinosa) seeing the motion, threw himself over into the ravine and was seen no more." Making his escape back to New

Mexico, he picked up a nephew, a mere boy, and after a time returned upon the old trail. Meanwhile, however, rewards were offered for the murderers, by the Governor, and the relatives of some of the murdered men, the whole amounting to fifteen hundred dollars, which stimulated others to the chase, among them an old mountaineer named Tom Tobins, then as now, a resident of San Luis valley. Taking a few soldiers from Fort Garland, Tobins began a close and rapid search for the trail of the remaining Espinosas, and finally discovered their encampment by his thorough knowledge of the secrets of the mountains and of signs in the air. Noticing a faint column of smoke ascending from a thicket, and looking up into the air he saw ravens circling about the spot, which indicated to his well trained mind the presence of men and the preparation of a meal in the thicket. Crawling upon his hands and knees, using great care not to make a sound by the breaking of a twig or the rustling of a leaf, he came close upon the encampment without discovery. When in a good position to make his aim certain, he fired and killed the elder Espinosa, both of them in fact, and brought the head of the principal assassin to Fort Garland. Thus terminated the lives of two of the worst assassins that ever cursed our country. They were religious fanatics, and murdered as offerings to the virgin. By a memorandum book taken from one of the Espinosas, for a long time in my possession, it was found that they had killed thirty-two Americans in the course of their different raids. An ugly looking butcher knife taken at the same time, was for some years among the trophies of the Adjutant-General's office in this city.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1866—STATE BILLS BEFORE CONGRESS—SECOND VETO—ATTEMPTED BARGAIN WITH EVANS AND CHAFFEE—ORGANIC ACTS AMENDED—EVANS REVIEWS THE VETO—CHILCOTT AND HUNT FOR CONGRESS—MORE OF CUMMINGS' PERFORMANCES—A MIDNIGHT MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT—SECRETARY HALL REMOVED—SENATE REFUSES TO CONFIRM A SUCCESSOR—CAUSTIC REVIEW OF CUMMINGS' ACTS BY A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE—CHILCOTT SEATED—HUNT APPOINTED GOVERNOR—LOVELAND AND THE CLEAR CREEK RAILWAY—FINAL LOCATION OF THE PACIFIC RAILROAD—FIRST PIONEERS' ASSOCIATION—KOUNTZE BROS. AND THE COLORADO NATIONAL BANK—GEORGE T. CLARK—ARRIVAL OF BAYARD TAYLOR AND GENERAL SHERMAN—FIRST BALLOTS CAST BY THE BLACKS—EARLY HISTORY OF CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS—FIRST REPUBLICAN CLUB.

The Senate bill providing for the admission of Colorado, passed Congress May 3d, 1866. In the lower house Mr. Washburne offered an amendment that the word "white" be stricken from the state constitution, but it was rejected by a vote of thirty-nine against fifty-nine. The bill then passed, yeas, eighty; nays, fifty-five. Knowing the President's temper, general apprehension was expressed that he would send it back with his objections. Sure enough, on the 15th this expectation was fulfilled. His first objection was, insufficiency of population. Next, that the state government was not essential to the welfare of the people, whose numbers did not exceed forty thousand, the greater part recent settlers, many of whom were understood to be ready to emigrate to other mining districts beyond the limits of the territory. The burdens of increased taxation were urged as a substantial reason, but greater than all, it had not been satisfactorily established that a majority of the citizens either desired or were prepared for the change, closing with the intimation that the majority for the constitution was secured by fraud.

As a natural consequence, Messrs. Evans and Chaffee applied all their resources of argument and persuasion to secure the passage of the bill over the veto. It was stated as a matter of fact that Andrew Johnson had signified to our Senators elect his readiness to approve the measure if they would pledge themselves to sustain his policy of reconstructing the States lately in rebellion, and that both refused to gain their ends on such terms. Nevertheless, they labored most earnestly with the President to remove his opposition, but ineffectually. Political feeling ran high. Johnson adhered uncompromisingly to the programme he had conceived, regardless of the will of Congress and the northern sentiment. There is no doubt that he would have signed the bill, if thereby he could have received assurances, or any acceptable guarantee of the support of our Senators. It was premature as every one here who reasoned independently on the subject, knew and admitted, yet the feeling among the people at large was decidedly unfavorable to a continuance of the kind of Territorial government which had been accorded them. Cummings, Sam Tappan, A. C. Hunt and others prominent in the Anti-state league, were as ardent in obstructing the movement as the State men were in pushing its adoption, and having the chief magistrate with them, they were much more certain of success.

In June, 1866, Congress passed a bill amending the organic acts of the several Territories so as to prohibit the legislatures of said Territories from passing special acts conferring corporate powers, but authorizing the formation of corporations, except for banking purposes, under the general laws, which might be altered or repealed at pleasure. The practice of granting special charters had become an abuse of power, and this amendment was interposed to put a stop to it.

Immediately after the veto, Governor Evans published a reply in one of the Washington papers, and later a second article in refutation of the arguments advanced by the President. He entered upon a general and searching review of the condition of the Territory, showing a steady increase of population and development of resources; also that

a number of States had been admitted with much less population than Colorado possessed. It is probable that these publications were intended not so much to affect the President, as to furnish reasons to Senators and Representatives for passing the bill over the veto, a result that was for some time confidently expected. But even this hope failed. The requisite two-thirds vote, though frequently promised, was never obtained. The only advantage accruing to the Territory from the persistent zeal of our representatives at the national capital, was a very extensive advertising which had the effect, in time, of causing large numbers of emigrants to locate here.

July 24th George M. Chilcott was nominated for delegate to Congress by the Union Republicans, and A. C. Hunt by the Independents, or Johnson administrationists, the latter publicly declaring himself to be unalterably opposed to any change in our territorial condition until our finances should be materially improved. Hunt was supported in the canvass by the Democrats, and to all intents and purposes was their candidate. August 13th Governor Cummings returned from the east to afford him all the aid in his power. The campaign, though earnestly conducted, produced no excitement. Both candidates were well known, and each was deservedly popular with his particular friends. Mr. Chilcott had long held the position of register of the U. S. Land office which brought him into familiar contact with the people. As an officer and citizen, no man was more widely esteemed. Hunt was the very incarnation of energy and force. Neither could make a stump speech, therefore each pushed his canvass upon the theory that a first-class "single-handed talker" was more effective in securing votes than the most eloquent orator. Hunt was an aggressive campaigner in any field he might enter, and by the rapidity of his movements seemed more nearly capable of being in two or more places at the same moment than any man of his time. As the acknowledged representative of the Anti-staters, he was naturally opposed, feared, and possibly hated by the State leaders. He was often rash and headstrong, but rarely weak or vacillating. He advised, led, directed and controlled the administration



J. D. Cooper

of Alexander Cummings, a difficult task, which often exhausted his diplomacy and his patience as well. Both candidates were strong in the southern division of the Territory, but Chilcott had a much larger following in the north than his opponent.

The election, which occurred on the 7th of August, gave Chilcott a clear majority, but to what extent could only be determined by the official count, as the race had been a close one and the balance between the aspirants so nearly even as to leave the result for some time in doubt. At length as the returns came in and were published in the papers, Chilcott's election was generally conceded, hence the Governor, who was profoundly interested, began to take measures for changing the count to read the other way. He resolved in his own mind that Hunt should be declared elected, no matter what the face of the returns might develop, but to insure a reasonable show of right, he set on foot an investigation of certain precincts in the south, and there obtained a number of *ex parte* affidavits and statements relating to the manner of conducting the election at those places, all of course alleging fraud and corrupt practices, and giving a result widely different from that shown in the official papers returned to the Secretary of the Territory. The Republican newspapers of the day openly charged Col. John Wanless with having procured the affidavits, but in a letter to the Secretary some time afterward he declared that his only part in the transaction had been to receive and present them, and that he never saw the papers until they were handed to him in Denver.

His Excellency returned soon after the election. The Secretary was in Central City supervising his business affairs at that place. When the returns began to demonstrate the defeat of Mr. Hunt, I was repeatedly interviewed by different parties from Denver who seemed anxious to be informed of the position which I, as chairman of the Territorial Board of Canvassers, would probably assume. In due course I went to Denver, where I was sharply interrogated by the Governor on the same subject, in the evident hope at the outset, that I would be willing to make concessions, and not conduct the count wholly accord-

ing to the face of the documents then locked up in the safe, awaiting official action. Discovering that nothing could be gained in that direction, an attempt was made to secure a postponement of the canvass, Cummings pleading for a week or two, in order that he might in the meantime visit the southern part of the Territory to look after treaties with the Ute Indians. This being also resisted, and the canvass insisted upon, to take place the following day (September 5th), the Governor and his principal adherents proceeded to the telegraph office about midnight and sent dispatches to President Johnson, then on his famous "swing around the circle," in other words, en route to Chicago to dedicate the Douglas monument in that city, stating the facts and declaring in positive terms that the immediate removal of the Secretary of Colorado was imperatively demanded in order to insure the election of Mr. Hunt, the administration candidate.

The next morning, while passing down Fifteenth street, I was accosted by a stranger who thrust into my hands a small bundle of papers, saying, "Here are some original messages which I sent to the President last night. They concern you deeply. I am night operator in the Western Union office. All I ask is that you will not betray me until after I have left the city, which will be in a few hours. You do not know me, but I know you, and realizing that you ought to be advised of the plot against you, I have taken this method of doing it." He then turned and left me. I have neither seen nor heard of the man from that time to the present, nor had I ever seen him before to my knowledge.

At the first opportunity I read the dispatches which had come thus mysteriously to my hand, finding them to be of great importance, as stated by the operator, and in substance as stated above,—demanding of the President my immediate removal from office. I summoned the Board of Canvassers to meet in the executive office at 2 o'clock the same day, notified the Governor of such action, and invited him to be present, since the law required that the returns should be canvassed in his presence, though he was in no legal sense a member of the board.

This provision of the organic act was intended to advise him, as a witness of the proceeding, that the votes as returned were correctly counted, so that he might issue the certificate of election to the person who, upon the face of the returns, should be shown to have received a majority of the votes cast, upon the certificate of the canvassers, nothing more or less.

The board, as provided by law, comprised the Secretary, Territorial Auditor, and Territorial Treasurer. Mr. Hunt being the Treasurer, and therefore incompetent to sit upon his own case, he resigned, when Col. John Wanless was appointed his successor. The auditor was Richard E. Whitsitt. At the hour appointed the board assembled, the returns were taken from the safe and counted, to ascertain if all the counties had reported. Quite a delegation of citizens was present. The Governor attempted to lock them out of the room, but was prevented by Mr. Whitsitt. It having been ascertained that the reports were complete, the count began in regular order. When several of the papers had been checked off, the governor, under pretense of looking at the last one read, came from his desk at the opposite side of the room and, adjusting his glasses to see more clearly, bent over the mass of documents on the table as if to scrutinize certain figures, but instantly seized the entire collection, and taking them to his private secretary, Major Thompson, said, "Prepare to tabulate these returns as I give them to you; I propose to make this canvass myself." The board protested strenuously against this outrageous and wholly unlawful proceeding, but in vain. There was no way in which they could regain control of the papers save by force, and this they did not feel warranted in employing. Cummings intimated very emphatically, on several occasions that no matter what the returns might show, the certificate of election would be given to Mr. Hunt. On reaching the counties in which the affidavits referred to heretofore had been obtained, he changed the returns for that county to correspond with the figures given in the affidavits. When he had finished the count, Major Thompson presented the figures he had put

down for each candidate, showing Hunt to have received a majority of about eighty-seven, whereas the official returns gave Chilcott a majority of one hundred and eight.

Hon. J. Q. Charles, Amos Steck and several other prominent lawyers who were indignant witnesses of the Governor's act, remonstrated against it, showing that he had no right whatever to make a personal count of the votes; no right to introduce and accept as part of the returns this *ex parte* evidence. The territorial board was the only body authorized to make the count, and even it had no power to go behind the returns as rendered. This power belonged to Congress, and could not be usurped by a lesser authority. But their protests and arguments were of no avail. The Governor, intensely satisfied with the shrewdness of his *coup*, remained obdurate to all appeals for justice. He had made his point and would issue the certificate, and that was the end of it, so far as he was concerned.

The Secretary after great difficulty recovered the papers, and, the hour being late—nearly 6 o'clock—announced that the board would meet and make its canvass at 8 o'clock that evening. The Governor having accomplished his design, offered no objection and consented to be present. Meanwhile, the report of what had occurred in the afternoon spread over the city, exciting great indignation. At the evening session a large crowd was present, and many were armed, anticipating serious difficulty. While the canvass proceeded the Governor interjected sneering remarks, which only intensified the bitterness against him. On one occasion Mr. Whitsitt threw off his coat and made a plunge at Mr. Cummings as if to strike him for his insolence, but he was caught by the bystanders, and a collision prevented. The feeling of those present was that an outrage had been committed. To them it was a defiant challenge to do their worst. Either that night or the next day the Governor telegraphed the Johnson convention, then sitting in Philadelphia, that the administration candidate for delegate to Congress from Colorado had been declared elected.

It was stated, but with how much truth I am unable to say, that

Cummings, fearing the storm he had raised would result in violence to himself, was secreted by his friends for several nights succeeding the events narrated above.

On the 6th the Board of Canvassers drew up, by the advice of J. Bright Smith and Amos Steck, whom they consulted, a certificate stating the result of the count. This, with other documents relating to the subject, was transmitted to the house of representatives in Washington, where, after a full examination of the evidence, Mr. Chilcott was seated, and Mr. Hunt granted the right to contest. Some time afterward there came up from one of the southern counties a petition addressed to the senate and house of representatives, stating that at an election held on the 7th of August "for delegate to represent our Territory in the Fortieth congress, many of us cast our votes for George M. Chilcott under the erroneous impression that he was disfavorable to the admission of said Territory as one of the sovereign States of the Union. We therefore wish to offer our united protest against such admission, and beg that we may be spared this new and additional burthen that now seems more than we can bear."

In October the Governor bundled all the executive records, archives and other movable property of the Territory into wagons and carted them up to Golden City, where headquarters were established on the upper floor or loft of a rickety frame building. Here he was at least out of reach of the tempest he had so wantonly incited, and as the feeling against him in the actual capital was less pronounced than at Denver, a short respite of peace was afforded him.

November 3d he took coach for the States, to be present at the December session of Congress, and further prosecute his aims against the State movement, when it should again appear before that body. By virtue of an act of the legislature, a census of the population of the Territory was taken in 1866, which returned a total of twenty-seven thousand, nine hundred and thirty-one. The city of Denver was credited with about three thousand, five hundred souls.

The President acted promptly upon the advice given him by

Governor Cummings in his nocturnal message, and at once removed Mr. Hall, appointing a Mr. Hood, a nephew of the famous Confederate general of that name, but the Senate refused to confirm. One or two other nominations were sent in, but the Senate refusing to act upon them, the incumbent was thereafter left in undisturbed possession.

George M. Chilcott was sworn in as the sitting delegate from Colorado March 20th, 1867. On the 21st the Congressional "Globe" contained a full account of the investigation made of this case by the committee having the matter in charge, from which we reproduce the following summary: The majority report favored the seating of Chilcott, while the minority declared for Hunt. The majority report stated, among other things, that "while the case was being argued, Mr. Hunt introduced Governor Cummings as his counsel, or his friend, to argue the case. The Governor undertook to explain to the committee why no allusion was made in his certificate to the count of the canvassers. He informed us that he considered himself one of the Board of Canvassers; that when the Secretary and Auditor agreed to this" (which was wholly false, for no such agreement was made or proposed), "the Treasurer not agreeing to it" (another falsehood, though the Treasurer sustained the Governor as against the Secretary and Auditor), "he counted himself one of the board and united with the Treasurer, which made a tie of the board, having no legal canvass, therefore he was at liberty to make the certificate upon the facts as he understood them,"—in other words, as he manufactured them. Mr. Cook, of the committee, stated in substance that Cummings, in presenting Hunt's credentials, made such a statement of facts as in his (Cook's) opinion rendered the paper of no validity whatever. He (Cummings) admitted that it was given in direct contravention of the finding of the Board of Canvassers of the Territory who canvassed the votes cast for the candidates for delegate; that the majority of the board decided that Mr. Chilcott had received a majority of one hundred and eight, and that he (Cummings) had taken it upon himself, despite the decision of the Board of Canvassers, to give the certificate

to Mr. Hunt. "It is said," proceeds Mr. Cook, "that Governor Cummings was not sworn as a witness, and could give no evidence before the committee. But, Mr. Speaker, he could make an admission, and he did so before the committee. If a man should come into court with a note of hand, that note might be *prima facie* evidence of good cause of action; but if he should admit that the note of hand was a forgery, or had been stolen, I apprehend that it would destroy his cause of action. I look upon this paper of Mr. Hunt's, with the accompanying admission of Governor Cummings, very much in the same light."

Mr. Wilson, of the committee, stated that Cummings appeared in behalf of Mr. Hunt. "The question being propounded whether the certificate was issued before the canvass was made, he replied that no canvass of the vote was declared or made. He then went on of his own suggestion to state the fact that two of the board were for Mr. Chilcott and one for Mr. Hunt, and that he coincided with the one for Mr. Hunt. The question was then put to him, 'If that was so, what right had you to issue the certificate to Mr. Hunt?' He then, finding himself embarrassed by his statement, said that he was not there as a witness. The recklessness with which he trampled upon all law in giving the certificate to a man who had not a majority of the votes, was only equaled by the unblushing coolness with which he appeared before the committee and attempted to justify his palpable violation of the law. In this case Mr. Chilcott has the only certificate in accordance with the decision of the Board of Canvassers, and the first certificate does not show that it was given to the man who received the highest number of votes. The Governor admits that he gave it in violation of law. It was perhaps necessary at the time, in order to send a telegraphic dispatch to give encouragement to the celebrated Philadelphia convention. I do not know of any other reason."

After this explanation, the vote was taken by the House, and Mr. Chilcott seated by a vote of ninety-one yeas to thirty-six nays, thirty-seven members not voting. Though there was much talk of a contest, none was made. About the 21st of April, Governor Cummings

resigned his office and was appointed to the collectorship of Internal Revenue for the Fourth District of Pennsylvania, to the great rejoicing of his enemies in Colorado. In May, A. C. Hunt being then in Washington, by an agreement with Cummings, who exerted his influence with the President to that end, was appointed to succeed him as Governor. The Senate having adjourned, he simply filled a vacancy until it should meet again. Governor Hunt arrived in Denver by coach May 19th, and at once entered upon the duties of his office. A large deputation of citizens paid their respects to him at his residence on the West side—now Lincoln Park.

It has been noted in a previous chapter that the Butterfield Overland Dispatch company had received a charter from the legislature, and had adopted the route to Salt Lake City via Berthoud Pass, substantially the same line built by General Bela M. Hughes, on which some forty thousand dollars had been expended. This fact caused the Overland Mail company to refuse to proceed any further with the work, consequently it was abandoned. The Butterfield company in due course fell into financial embarrassment from its unprofitable operations in Colorado, and withdrew from the field, hence the route intended for the Union Pacific railroad was never used.

To illustrate the value of the commerce of our Territory in 1866, the following extract showing the shipments of freight to Colorado, is taken from the report of a committee appointed at a railroad meeting called for the purpose of influencing the construction of the Pacific railway through Berthoud Pass, and over Gen. Hughes' route, thence to Salt Lake :

	POUNDS.
Provisions, groceries, etc	40,000,000
Clothing.....	4,000,000
Hardware, mining and agricultural implements	10,000,000
Moving families.....	6,000,000
Machinery.....	14,000,000
Government stores	20,000,000
Grain.....	10,000,000
Total.....	104,000,000

The report also states that "the average cost of transportation has been, for the last three years, ten cents per pound, making a total cost to the Territory and the government of ten millions, four hundred thousand dollars for freight on the above, summer and winter, ranging from eight to thirty cents per pound." It was estimated by the compilers of this report, that by the expiration of one year from the completion of the Pacific railroad through our Territory, and a consequent reduction in the price of labor, that three times that amount of freight would be required, or three hundred and twelve million pounds, at a cost of three cents per pound, which would yield a revenue of nine million, three hundred and sixty thousand dollars, and would be sufficient to load forty cars daily with freight for Colorado, to say nothing of the travel.

But the committee go further into detail, presenting as an inducement to the company, this tempting estimate of the productions of the soil and their value. During the year mentioned, the amount of land under cultivation in Colorado was estimated at one hundred thousand acres. The yield of wheat, corn and oats for the three years preceding was—wheat twenty bushels per acre, corn twenty, and oats thirty bushels. The prices of these products in the same period had averaged about as follows: Wheat, six dollars per bushel; corn, five dollars; rye, five dollars; barley, four dollars, and oats three dollars and thirty cents.

On the 19th of June, 1866, the Senate passed an amendment to the Pacific railroad bill, providing for the construction of the eastern division—now known as the Kansas Pacific, and requiring the company to designate the general route of its road and file a map thereof as required by law, on or before December 1st of that year; also that the company should connect its line with the Union Pacific at a point not more than fifty miles westward from the meridian of Denver.

This measure passed the House and was approved June 26th. The route selected was directly west up the Smoky Hill Fork to this city. This bill received the ardent support of Senators Evans and Chaffee, who used all the influence they possessed in that behalf, being then

pretty thoroughly convinced that the main line would be deflected to the north, and that the eastern division would be certain to come straight through.

By the unremitting labors of Mr. W. A. H. Loveland, the Colorado and Clear Creek railroad company, which had been granted a charter by the legislature of 1864, began to assume a good deal of prominence. The route defined was "up Clear Creek Cañon to Empire and Central City, and from Golden City to Boulder, and via Denver to Bijou." The charter was subsequently amended in the matter of title, to read "The Colorado Central Pacific railroad," and the company required to make a survey and finish a certain amount of construction in a given time. The survey was made in good order and time, but the next phase of the problem, the raising of means to build, was rather more difficult. Mr. Loveland devoted the greater part of his time to it. He succeeded finally in enlisting the co-operation of Dr. W. H. Laman of New York in the enterprise, who went to Europe, and, it was reported, secured subscriptions to the amount of thirty millions in the stock of the road. The amended charter permitted the company to build from Golden City via Clear Creek to the western boundary of Colorado, and from the same point eastward by two branches, to the eastern boundary, and to meet the Omaha and Kansas Pacific roads. Meanwhile, legislation pending in Congress looking to the revocation of the charters granted by the territorial legislatures, alarmed capitalists, consequently there was no farther advance for some time. This bill did not pass, however. The next move at Washington came in the form of an amendment to the original Pacific railroad bill, to permit the junction of the main line and the eastern division, at or immediately west of Denver, instead of on the one hundredth meridian. This seemed to indicate a choice of Berthoud's instead of the South Pass, as the route of the transcontinental line. The Union Pacific, by virtue of an agreement, proposed to build the road from Denver to the western line of the Territory if the Colorado Central would turn over the government subsidy for that distance,

the latter company to have the use of the road by paying its proportionate share for maintenance, repairs, etc. At this early period of railway building in the West, capitalists entertained a dread of the great cost, much exaggerated in their minds, of constructing lines in the mountains, yet the feasibility of surmounting the difficulties between the plains and Middle Park, as presented to them, together with a pretty strong assurance that the main line would take this route, inclined them to give the enterprise some earnest consideration. The vast distance saved by this route over that via the South Pass, was an additional inducement. The expense of building over the high range would be greater, but it would be compensated many times over by the shorter line. I may here interpolate the observation, that if ever a transcontinental road shall be built by the Berthoud route, as originally outlined by Mr. Loveland and E. L. Berthoud, it will take the lion's share of the through traffic between the Missouri river and the Pacific ocean for the reason given, that it is shorter by nearly four hundred miles than the present line of the Union Pacific; a consideration that would weigh heavily against all competitors. The Union Pacific company by adopting this route in the beginning, would not perhaps have reached Ogden quite so early as it did, but its road would have cost less money, and its future would have been so strongly fortified as to insure it the control of transcontinental traffic for all time. But, at this epoch, the managers were led to believe the scheme impracticable, notwithstanding the demonstration of its practicability laid before them by Berthoud, Loveland and General F. M. Case. What were deemed insurmountable obstacles then, have since become, through greater engineering skill and experience, mere trifles, as witness the roads now in operation all through the mountain ranges.

At length, in August, 1866, the Union Pacific engineers were directed to accompany Capt. Berthoud over his surveyed line up Clear Creek to the pass which bears his name. On the 15th of September following, General G. M. Dodge, Chief Engineer of the Union Pacific, attended by Colonel Seymour, consulting engineer, Jesse L. Williams,

government director, and Col. Cheesborough, arrived in Denver with the view of making a tour of inspection of the Rocky Mountains, for the purpose of enabling them to report fully and finally as to the advantages and disadvantages of the projected routes, on their return to New York. In the course of this mission they examined Clear Creek Cañon and Berthoud Pass, but a short time afterward public announcement was made of the fact that the company had formally selected the route up Lodge Pole Creek to the Cheyenne Pass, through the Black Hills and Bridger's Pass. It was a bitter disappointment to all our people of course, for until this blow fell, they cherished the hope that the company would be compelled to adopt either the Clear Creek line, or that through Boulder Cañon. But we were consoled to some extent by the promise given simultaneously, that Denver and the mountain towns would be connected by a branch, and thus ended for the time being, all uncertainty as to our prospects for direct intercourse by rail with the East.

The first meeting of the Pioneers' association, which included only the immigrants of 1858 and 1859, was held for organization June 22d, 1866. The following were present: Richard Sopris, Charles C. Post, D. C. Oakes, W. H. Morgan, William N. Byers, Dr. Adams, Andrew Sagendorf, E. B. Sopris, A. C. Hunt, Edward H. Willoughby, H. R. Hunt, S. M. Logan, Wm. M. Slaughter, John S. Jones, Henry J. Rogers, J. W. McIntire, Dr. J. H. Morrison, A. McFadden, John J. Riethmann, William Graham, George C. Schleier, Joseph L. Bailey, Nelson Sargent, Fred Z. Salomon, Lewis N. Tappan, A. G. Rhoads, John Q. A. Rollins, Andrew Hiveley and John Robinson.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Salomon. Capt. Richard Sopris was made chairman, and Lewis N. Tappan, secretary. A committee was appointed to nominate permanent officers of the association, who reported as follows:

For President, D. C. Oakes; for Vice-Presidents, Richard Sopris of Arapahoe; C. L. Tourtellot of Boulder; John S. Jones of Clear Creek; Lafayette Head of Conejos; Capt. Hendren of Costilla; George A. Bute of El Paso; William H. Green of Fremont; William M.

Slaughter of Gilpin ; James S. Gray of Huerfano ; W. A. H. Loveland of Jefferson ; Robert L. Berry of Lake ; Henry B. Chubbuck of Larimer ; H. A. W. Tabor of Park ; R. B. Willis of Pueblo ; Wier P. Pollock of Summit ; Mark B. Houghton of Weld.

Recording Secretary, H. R. Hunt ; Corresponding Secretary, Wm. N. Byers ; Treasurer, Henry J. Rogers. The organization was maintained for a short time, and years afterward was succeeded by another and broader, which extended the privileges of fellowship to all who came to the country during the period between 1858 and 1861. This association is now in existence ; the bond between the members has been strengthened by the constant thinning of their ranks by death, and the fraternity will probably endure until the last remnant shall have "passed over the Range" whence none return.

In August, 1866, the Kountze Brothers, who had for some years conducted a banking business both here and in Central City, secured a charter from the Treasury Department and immediately established the Colorado National Bank, with Luther Kountze President, Joseph H. Goodspeed Vice-President, and Charles B. Kountze, Cashier.

This institution was the outgrowth of a movement begun by Luther Kountze in 1862, who opened business in a small corner of Tootle & Leach's general store on Blake street between F and G. Six months later it was removed to W. S. Cheesman's drugstore on the corner of F and Blake, where it remained until the completion of the new banking house on the corner of F and Holladay. Mr. Charles B. Kountze arrived in July, 1864, assisting his brother until 1865, when Luther went to New York and established a branch on Wall street in that city. Thereafter the business in Colorado was conducted by C. B. Kountze under the name of Kountze Brothers, until the organization of the Colorado National in 1866. A branch was established at Central City in 1862. The firm now has three large houses, one in Denver, another in Omaha, and a third in New York, with strong connections in London.

An exhibit of the growth of the Denver house appears in the fol-

lowing comparative statement. The first quarterly report published October 1st, 1866, gave—Loans and discounts \$120,258.31. Deposits \$189,101.96. December 12th, 1888, the statement showed—Loans and discounts \$2,076,499.07 and deposits \$3,043,224.32.

On the 4th of September, 1866, George T. Clark resigned the cashiership of the First National bank, and was on that date succeeded by D. H. Moffat, Jr. Fred Z. Salomon and George Wells were chosen directors in place of Eben Smith and George T. Clark. The latter proceeded to Central City and took personal charge of his banking house there which had been established in 1865. He possessed great energy and capacity for business, and but for his lavish generosity would have attained exalted rank as a financier. His intercourse with men was characterized by perennial geniality and the quaintest and most fascinating humor. During his lifetime, and especially in the first ten years of his residence in Colorado, many, almost innumerable opportunities in fact, for the acquisition of wealth were presented to him, but he was not acquisitive. Whatever he made was freely divided with his multitude of friends. If one were in need he had only to apply to George Clark to find immediate relief. No charity left him without its reward. No friend applied for aid in vain. He came into prominence in connection with the coining mint of Clark, Gruber & Co. and later as the agent of Hinckley's express. In the early years of the municipality of Denver he was elected mayor, and gave the people a vigorous and thoroughly honest administration; was the first cashier, as already noted, of the First National bank, conducted two extensive private banks, and was at times deeply immersed in local and territorial politics. No man of his time was blessed with more or warmer friends. Generous to recklessness, companionable to a most charming degree, he thought more of being happy and entertaining others than of money-getting, hence at his death in 1887 after a long and eventful career, enjoying the esteem of all who knew him, he left only a moderate competence to his family. When by act of the Legislature a commission was created to supervise the construction of a State capitol, he

was made its secretary, which position he retained to the close of his useful and honored life.

On the 19th of June, 1866, Bayard Taylor with the eminent artist Beard, arrived in Denver. Mr. Taylor lectured to a large audience during his stay, and then made an extensive tour of the mountains, taking notes according to his lifelong custom and, some years later, published the results of his trip, whereby many were attracted to the country. He was followed on September 10th by General W. T. Sherman and staff, who came in an ambulance, and was met several miles out by a large concourse of citizens on horseback who extended to him the hospitalities of the city. On the 11th a grand banquet was given in his honor at the Pacific House, where he had an opportunity to fully test the quality of his welcome, as well as the caliber of our Western pioneers, for the hotel was crowded with guests.

In this month also, the first fair of the Colorado Agricultural Society was held, on grounds then about three miles north of town, otherwise than by the society's buildings, wholly vacant, but now a thickly populated suburb of the city. The exhibits made in 1866 and subsequently were among the most creditable that have ever been witnessed in this section of the west.

On the 10th of January, 1867, the second bill providing for the admission of Colorado as a State, passed the Senate with the following amendment by Senator Edmunds:

“That this act shall go into effect with the fundamental and perpetual condition that within said State of Colorado there shall be no abridgement or denial of the exercise of the elective franchise, or of any other right to any person by reason of race or color, except Indians not taxed.” The Nebraska bill passed at the same time, but when the bills reached the House it was discovered that considerable opposition had sprung up since the last session, in which both had been adopted by majorities sufficient to have carried them over the veto. The House had become in the interim even more radical than the Senate in its prejudice against the admission of States having the word

“white” in their constitutions, and while the Edmunds’ amendment, which satisfied Charles Sumner, was designed to remove the objection, doubts of its successful operation were freely expressed, and numerous other pretexts advanced for the prevention of its passage. At the December session Hon. J. M. Ashley, chairman of the Committee on Territories in the House, introduced a bill providing for impartial suffrage in all territories of the United States, and the measure was still pending. On the 11th of January Senator Wade’s bill amending the organic acts of all the territories to the effect that there should be no denial of the franchise on account of race, color and so forth, and repealing all acts in conflict with the same, was taken up and passed. It was immediately enrolled and transmitted to the House, where half an hour later it went through under a call for the previous question. Therefore, in less than two hours after its introduction by Mr. Wade, it had passed both houses and was on its way to the President for his approval. And this was the beginning of impartial suffrage in Colorado.

Both bills for admission (Nebraska and Colorado) passed the House on the 18th of February, 1867, with the further amendment tacked on to each below that attached by Senator Edmunds, “that the legislature of said State by a solemn act shall declare the assent of said State to the said fundamental conditions, and shall transmit to the President of the United States an authentic copy of said act, upon the receipt whereof the President, by proclamation, shall forthwith announce the fact, whereupon said fundamental conditions shall be held as part of the organic law of the State, and thereupon, without any further proceeding on the part of Congress, the admission of said State into the Union shall be considered complete. The State legislature shall be convened by the Governor within thirty days after the passage of this act, to act upon the conditions submitted herein.” The bill passed, ayes one hundred and six, nays fifty-five. The amendments having been concurred in by the Senate, the measures went to the President. Excepting the amendment just recited, the bills were the



F. J. Chamberlain

same as those adopted the previous winter. In our case the original State legislature was revived and given authority to pass upon the question thus submitted. Johnson promptly sent them back with a veto which simply reiterated the objections given in the first instance. The Nebraska bill was passed over the veto, but it was found impossible to carry the Colorado bill by the same means. On the 1st of March the Senate, without debate, refused to take any further action.

Though twice defeated, the ardor of our Senators elect was by no means extinguished. They girded up their loins manfully for another struggle, and six days after the veto, Senator Harlan introduced a third measure, essentially the same as the last, but with a clause continuing in force the existing territorial suffrage law and reserving the right to enforce it and the civil rights law in the State when admitted. At the same session, Congress changed the annual sessions of the territorial legislature to biennial sessions, and increased the pay of the members from four to six dollars per diem. This bill was approved March 30th, 1867.

It was confidently expected that all the new Senators would heartily support Senator Harlan's bill, and that the third appearance of this already familiar and somewhat shabby specter would be finally disposed of by taking it out of the hands of the President and making Colorado a State by a two-thirds vote over his objections. This belief was strengthened by the admission of Nebraska, and by the passage of the reconstruction acts, tenure of office and other great measures which for so long a time had been absorbing the attention of our statesmen. On the 20th of March the House Committee on Territories recommended the admission of Colorado. About the same time the act granting the elective franchise and equal civil rights to the negroes became a law by constitutional limitation, the President having refused to sign it. Governor Evans advised his friends here that the prospect for the Colorado bill was extremely favorable, since the recommendation had been announced. Among other reports received in this period was one which stated that Governor Cummings' administration of Indian

affairs had been undergoing investigation, and that his distribution of annuity goods, with other transactions in connection with a certain treaty negotiated by him with the Utes for the cession of their lands in Middle Park, were to some extent irregular.

At the municipal elections held April 1st, 1867, the colored people cast their first ballots. There was no objection on the part of any class of citizens, no desire to prevent or interfere with the full and free exercise of the right granted them by law. They went to the polls at the hour of their opening, voted quietly but quickly, and stepped aside so as to avoid any prejudice which might remain on the part of white citizens to this intimate contact with a downtrodden race, with an intelligent realization that such prejudice existed, and if irritated might precipitate serious results. In the city of Omaha less discreet action brought on a disgraceful riot, in which the blacks were expelled from the polling places.

When it was seen that no opposition had been or would be encountered, no obstructions placed in their way, that their ballots were to be cast as freely as those of the white people, they were overjoyed, and their gratitude found expression in a public meeting held the day following, which was addressed by W. J. Hardin, two sons of Frederick Douglass, and other really excellent speakers. At the close, resolutions were adopted reciting, that whereas it was the first opportunity afforded them to exercise the sacred right of casting their votes, and though the white voters had been largely opposed to it, their regard for law and order impelled them to make no resistance, therefore resolved, that "we are proud of the respectful recognition of our right to the franchise and grateful for the treatment we received at the polls." Thanks were tendered to Mayor M. M. De Lano for his vigilance in providing for their protection.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the interesting series of movements which resulted in the construction of our first railways, it may be well to give a brief epitome of the condition of the churches that had been established, with an account of their beginning.

The first services held under the Methodist organization were instituted by a local preacher named George W. Fisher, in November, 1858. Meetings took place, now in a saloon, at another time in a lowly cabin, and again in the open air, wherever auditors could be gathered by this zealous Christian pioneer. In June, 1859, the Kansas Conference sent the Rev. W. H. Good to take charge of the Cherry Creek mission. He was accompanied by the Rev. Jacob Adriance who became pastor of a circuit embracing Denver, Golden City, Boulder, and all other points of settlement in the valley, that is to say, on the plains. Mr. Good returned to Kansas, and in April Rev. J. M. Chivington was sent out by the conference of that jurisdiction, as presiding elder of the "Rocky Mountain District." Under Elder Chivington's supervision the Denver appointment was first occupied by the Rev. Loudon Taylor of the Upper Iowa Conference, and subsequently by the Rev. A. P. Allen of the Wisconsin Conference. In November, 1860, the regular meetings were held in what may be termed a shed or rude addition to the old "Herald and Commonwealth" office on the corner of Twelfth and Larimer streets, West side. In the spring of 1861, Rev. W. A. Kenney was appointed pastor of the church in Denver, and in November of that year the society rented the brick portion of the old Episcopal Church building on the corner of Fourteenth and Arapahoe—now occupied by the Haish Manual Training School, a department of the Denver University—where they held regular meetings until the spring of 1862. The building was the property of the M. E. Church, South. Mr. Kenney died in the spring of the year last mentioned, and for a time the church was left without place or pastor, Rev. Chivington having taken a commission in the First Regiment of Colorado volunteers for the war. The Rev. Dennis succeeded him as Presiding Elder.

In October, 1862, Rev. O. A. Willard was transferred from the Wisconsin Conference and stationed at Denver. After some shifting about from place to place, the old Methodist Church building in the bed of Cherry Creek was secured, and in this, under the ministrations of Mr. Willard, the society prospered in a very gratifying degree. In

June, 1863, the "Rocky Mountain," later the "Colorado Conference" was organized, and Mr. Willard elevated to the post of Presiding Elder. This left the society without a pastor, until Rev. George C. Betts was appointed to the charge, which he afterward vacated, returning to the East and entering the Episcopal ministry. During the pastorate of Mr. Betts the flood of 1864 swept away the little church, which again interrupted the regular religious exercises. At length the society secured temporary quarters, first in the Denver Theater, and then in the Colorado Seminary, where meetings were held until the 12th of February, 1865, when the church on the corner of Fourteenth and Lawrence streets was completed and dedicated. The Rev. George Richardson officiated at the opening, and conducted services until the conference in June of that year, when he was succeeded by the Rev. W. M. Smith, who in time gave way to Rev. B. T. Vincent in June, 1866.

Protestant Episcopal Church. The first services of this denomination were held in a schoolhouse on McGaa—now Holladay—street January 20th, 1860. On the 19th of February a temporary vestry was elected as follows: Charles A. Lawrence, Samuel S. Curtis, Amos Steck, E. Waterbury, Thomas G. Wildman, D. C. Collier, C. E. Cooley, Dr. A. F. Peck, Thomas J. Bayaud, and Richard E. Whitsitt. Mr. Bayaud was made Senior Warden, and Mr. Curtis Junior Warden.

On Easter Monday, April 9th, 1860, the first canonical election of the church was held, when the two Wardens were retained in office, Amos Steck chosen Treasurer, and Henry J. Rogers Secretary. The other members of the vestry elected on this occasion were Thomas G. Wildman, C. A. Lawrence, Dr. Drake McDowell, H. J. Bulkley, O. P. Ingalls, and Andrew Sagendorf. Thus St. John's Church in the Wilderness was established, with Rev. J. H. Kehler as rector, which position he occupied until his election to the chaplaincy of the First Colorado cavalry. He delivered his farewell sermon on the 8th of June, 1862. Mr. Kehler was succeeded by the Rev. H. B. Hitchings. By purchase, the church became possessed of the building on the corner of Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets, which was in due time materially enlarged.

Roman Catholic Church. First services held in a private residence, in June, 1860, by the Rt. Rev. J. B. Milge, Bishop of Leavenworth, Kansas, who subsequently visited the several towns in the Territory, and on his return the Denver Town Company donated an entire block for the use of the church, where the cathedral now stands. Arrangements were then made for the erection of a suitable edifice—the present cathedral—which, when completed, was, next to the Methodist Church, the most imposing structure in the city. Pending these arrangements, the Bishop received from Rome a decree annexing this Territory to the diocese of Santa Fé, New Mexico, and soon afterward returned to the East. The Catholics here held a meeting and elected Judge G. W. Purkins, President of the Church Association. Subscription books were opened, and the responses being sufficient to warrant such action, the building was begun, but the subscriptions were not paid in very promptly, owing to the general hardness of the times, therefore the workers made very little progress. Meanwhile, Rt. Rev. J. B. Lamy, Bishop of Santa Fé, received official notice that the Pike's Peak region had been united to his diocese, and in October, 1860, the very Rev. J. P. Machebeuf, who for ten years had been Vicar-General of New Mexico, together with Rev. J. B. Raverdy arrived in Denver, to take charge of the Catholic missions of the Territory.

A new appeal for funds was made which met with better success, and work on the building was resumed. On Christmas night following the arrival of the Bishop, the first services were held in the unfinished building, which was not completed until 1861. In 1862 the church organ was brought from St. Louis, and also a bell weighing eight hundred pounds, which was hung in a temporary frame tower in front of the church. This bell was destroyed by a furious wind storm which blew down the tower on the night of Christmas, 1864, and completely shattered it. It was replaced by another weighing about two thousand pounds, the one now used. With the progress of years, the Catholic congregation has multiplied in numbers, until it is now perhaps the largest in the city.

St. Mary's Academy was established in the fall of 1863, in the dwelling house of G. W. Clayton, at that time one of the largest in town, and was subsequently purchased by the church. In August, 1864, three sisters of the order of Loretto, opened the academy. As the attendance increased, other sisters were brought from Santa Fé in 1865.

Presbyterian Church. The first services in this church occurred on the 15th of June, 1859, in the Pollock House, corner of Fourth and Ferry streets, Auraria. The congregation was somewhat remarkable in that early period, owing to the presence of several ladies. The Pollock House having the rather phenomenal luxury of a plank floor, induced its selection. The Rev. Mr. Hamilton, afterward of Central City, delivered the sermon. In the spring of 1860 Rev. Mr. Rankin arrived and established a regular congregation, the trustees being Richard Sopris, Wm. M. Clayton, R. E. Whitsitt and Daniel Moyn. Mr. Rankin officiated as pastor for four months, when he was succeeded by Rev. A. S. Billingsley who organized the Presbyterian Church in the International Hall on Ferry street, between Fourth and Fifth, December 15th, 1861. The officers of the church were the three ruling elders, Simon Cort, John Irvine and Robert Lansing. The membership numbered only fifteen. During the administration of Mr. Billingsley, which continued about a year, the society worshiped for a time in a room over the store occupied by Messrs. Greenleaf & Brewer, and afterward in International Hall.

Rev. A. R. Day succeeded Billingsley, arriving here in the fall of 1862. His first efforts were devoted to securing a permanent church edifice, and a movement to that end was organized. Lots for the building were donated by the United States Board of Domestic Missions for the Presbyterian church by Major John S. Fillmore. Subscription books were opened, and nearly eight thousand dollars secured. With this amount a small church was built on Fifteenth street, between Arapahoe and Lawrence. Mr. Day remained until the spring of 1865, when he resigned, and was succeeded in July of that year by Rev. J. B. McClure, who arrived October 18th. In the

spring of 1867 (April) the membership numbered eighty. The church officials of that date were: Elders, John Q. Charles, Dr. W. F. McClelland, W. W. Slaughter, John Irwin, and John McCall; Trustees, O. A. Whittemore, B. F. Woodward, Moses Hallett, W. F. McClelland, and A. E. Moyn.

Baptist Church. This society was temporarily organized by the Rev. Walter McD. Potter in the winter of 1863-4. Its first independent services were held in a hall in Bayaud's block on Sixteenth street, December 27th, 1863. Meetings were continued regularly each Sunday until May 2d, 1864, at which time a permanent organization was effected, with the following membership: The pastor, Francis Gallup, Henry C. Leach, Adelia Voorhies, Lucilla Birdsall, Lavinia Hall, Lucy H. Potter, Alice Hall, and Eliza Thoroughman. The church grew slowly until the autumn of 1865, at which time the membership numbered seventeen.

Through all this period search was instituted for a site, and ways and means for a building. A fund for the purpose was subscribed. In the fall and winter of 1865 Mr. Potter hoped to have the structure under way, but his health failing, he was compelled to leave his field of labor. He returned to his home in the East, and in 1866 passed away. He was succeeded by Rev. Ira D. Clark. The church services were held during the fall and winter of 1865-6 in the U. S. court room in McClure block, Larimer street, near the present railroad building. In the fall of 1866 the society, which had received a considerable increase of membership, began the erection of a fine church on the corner of Sixteenth and Curtis streets—now occupied by the Riche block. The basement of cut stone was completed, but winter coming on, a temporary roof was thrown over it. The congregation worshiped here for some time. Owing to its rather grotesque appearance it was christened by the irreverent "the Baptist Dugout." And here the experiment ended. The lot with its remarkable incumbrance, was sold and finally occupied by a business block.

July 8th, 1867, a meeting was held in Cole's hall, on Larimer

street, to organize a Republican club. P. P. Wilcox, the veteran Police Magistrate, Webster D. Anthony and E. C. Holmes were appointed a committee on permanent organization, and Major Jacob Downing, Gen. John Pierce and W. R. Thomas a committee on resolutions. The committee on permanent organization reported the following: For President, John Pierce; Vice-Presidents, Amos Steck, Dr. F. R. Waggoner and O. A. Whittemore; Recording Secretary, J. E. Wurtzebach; Corresponding Secretary, M. A. Rogers; Treasurer, Major Peabody; Executive Committee, C. C. Clements, Dr. F. J. Bancroft, J. Q. Charles, Jacob Downing, Capt. R. W. Woodbury.

This was the first well organized and equipped Republican club formed in Arapahoe county. Up to this time no regular organization of the party for the Territory had been perfected. Henry M. Teller was made chairman of the Territorial executive committee.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE BUILDING OF OUR FIRST RAILWAYS—GENERAL HUGHES AND THE OVERLAND STAGE LINE—BUTTERFIELD'S LINE THROUGH THE SMOKY HILLS—LOVELAND AND CARTER'S PROPOSITION TO DENVER—ARRIVAL OF COLONEL JAMES ARCHER—ORGANIZATION OF A BOARD OF TRADE—HISTORY OF THE DENVER PACIFIC RAILWAY—REMOVAL OF THE TERRITORIAL CAPITAL—INAUGURATION OF WORK ON THE COLORADO CENTRAL—GOVERNOR EVANS UTTERS A PROPHECY—GENERAL WM. J. PALMER—SKETCH OF THE UNION PACIFIC RAILWAY.

While in New York and Washington, Governor Evans lost no opportunity to freely advocate the location of the Pacific railroad through Colorado via Clear Creek Cañon and Berthoud Pass. In September, 1865, Gen. B. M. Hughes, the pioneer stage manager, had constructed a wagon road from Salt Lake City via Green river to Middle Park, and as far as the western base of the pass named above, and while not fully completed, it was an excellent route for either a stage or railroad. Knowing this to be the shorter, and, all things considered, much the better line, he had pushed the work with all possible speed. Though never utilized, its practicability had to be admitted, and it was hoped that the railway engineers would recommend it if they could ever be brought to a careful examination. Almost simultaneously D. A. Butterfield & Co. had built a new stage line from Atchison, Kansas, via the Smoky Hills to Denver. The first coach arrived September 23d, 1865. A delegation of citizens headed by Mayor George T. Clark, went out on the road to meet and tender the proprietor of this competing stage line a cordial welcome. Mr. Butterfield was transferred from the coach to a carriage and escorted to the Planter's House, where James M. Cavanaugh, the

"Irish orator of the Rockies," delivered to the hero of the hour the hospitalities of the embryonic metropolis. The legislature of 1865-6 passed an act incorporating the "Butterfield Overland Dispatch Company," and on the 30th of January, 1866, a meeting of the incorporators was held for organization. E. P. Bray, General Wm. R. Brewster, Wm. A. H. Loveland, Wm. H. Fogg, George E. Cook, J. H. Messinger, George A. Hinsdale, Wm. H. Gale, and Charles A. Cook were elected Directors. The company selected Berthoud Pass as the point through which their route across the Snowy Range should be constructed, and General Brewster was authorized to commence at the earliest practicable moment the erection of a telegraph line from the eastern boundary of the Territory to Central City, agreeably to the provisions of the act of incorporation.

At a meeting of the Directors held on the 23d of January, 1866, Wm. R. Brewster was elected President; W. A. H. Loveland, Vice-President; George E. Cook, Treasurer, and Frank Hall, Secretary. A resolution was adopted to the effect that this company adopted and claimed the right to use the pass through the Snowy Range known as the Berthoud Pass, and that the construction of said road be commenced at the earliest practicable date. And that was about as far as it ever proceeded.

Having pursued his one absorbing idea of building a railroad to the mines, and with the further purpose of extending it through the Middle Park to Salt Lake, along the line suggested by Engineer Berthoud's reconnaissance of 1861, Mr. Loveland secured an amended charter from the legislature in 1865, and began immediately to lay his plans for carrying it into effect. He clung with unwearying pertinacity to this enterprise. To him it was the keystone in the arch of the future, realizing that if it could only be seen by the capitalists of the East as he saw it, it could not fail, and it would, moreover, be the beginning of a grand system of railroads penetrating to every desirable point in the Territory. Though the route up Clear Creek Cañon was pronounced wholly impracticable by the old school railway builders, owing to the

heavy grades and innumerable curvatures of the stream it must necessarily follow, he held resolutely to its entire feasibility, and went forward.

In the course of events he succeeded in organizing in New York the Colorado and Clear Creek railroad company, and received satisfactory assurances that the means would be forthcoming to build the road. General Dix, then President of the Union Pacific, had examined the surveys and maps, and it was said, was favorably impressed and would probably give it connection with the main trunk from the eastern boundary of the territory. The matter progressed very encouragingly. One of the directors of Loveland's company wrote, "I had, apart from the General (Dix) a pleasant interview with Mr. Seymour, and from him learned that he would be well pleased to find our route every way practicable for them (the U. P.) to adopt. I told him it would be satisfactory to us to have them unite with us and make ours a part of the great national line, and I trusted they would find inducements sufficient to justify them in deciding upon the Clear Creek route as being in every way the most practicable one." The plan embraced the lines now (1889) in operation from Golden City to Black Hawk and Central City, with the proposed main line via the junction of north and south Clear Creeks to Berthoud Pass. J. B. Chaffee had been chosen one of the directors of the company, and being also one of the directors of the Pacific railroad company, it was believed that he would exert a salutary influence in directing the main trunk through the mountains by this route.

Governor Evans too, wrought unceasingly to impress its importance upon the President and Directors of the National road, but all to no purpose. At one time the decision for the construction of the Colorado and Clear Creek line was so nearly accomplished in New York, Mr. Loveland was telegraphed to go there at once and close the contracts.

Notwithstanding all these schemes went down in failure, they sowed the seeds and prepared the way for new and successful undertakings in the not remote future. In February, 1866, Governor Evans addressed a letter to General Dix, inviting his careful attention to the

importance of examining the Clear Creek and Middle Park route, reiterating former accounts of its advantages, insisting upon its feasibility, and asking that it be examined by competent engineers in the employ of the Pacific company, before finally locating the main line. To this appeal, General Dix replied on the 12th of July, stating in substance that their engineers had examined the route and pronounced against it. Besides the enormous cost of cutting the long tunnels, the length of time required would prevent its adoption. While the route had not been definitely fixed as far west as the one hundredth meridian, it was his impression, based upon maps of surveys in his office, that the Cache la Poudre Cañon was the most favorable thus far presented, and should it be adopted, there was little doubt but that Denver would be connected with the main line by a branch. So that scheme went down with the rest. Possibly the admission of the Territory as a State in 1865, with a full representation in Congress, could it have been consummated, might have had some effect upon the definite location, but it is very doubtful if the Pacific Construction Company would ever have been induced to accept the Clear Creek route by any influence which could have been brought to bear. They were afraid of the mountains and the tunneling, but above all, of the delay involved in this difficult work.

General Dodge and his associates who had been sent out to investigate, having completed their examination of all the proposed railway routes across the mountains, on the 23d of November, 1866, submitted a detailed report on the same to the directors of their company, embracing also the resources, advantages and disadvantages of each, and unqualifiedly recommending the Lone Tree and Crow Creek route, on which the road was subsequently built. In all his estimates General Dodge included a branch to Denver, strongly urging the importance of such connection at the earliest practicable date, in order to secure the increasing trade of Colorado, and its supplies of superior fuel.

The report having been fully considered by the directors, its recommendations were adopted by unanimous vote, and the "Committee on Location" instructed to report upon the branch to Denver.

In due time the committee made answer that in their judgment a connection with the mining regions of Colorado was of supreme interest to the company. The branch as projected, would be about one hundred and twelve miles in length, and would be further important as a base line of railway parallel with the main range, from which lateral branches could be built to the mining centers; for example, up Clear Creek, through Boulder Cañon and other valleys. The coal lying in great profusion and of a fine quality at the base, and the gold bearing quartz lodes on the slopes of the mountains, such lines of railway would become essential, not only for general transportation, but to bring the ores and the fuel together when the scanty supply of timber should have been exhausted. These suggestions forecast the future with great accuracy, and the results predicted have been largely verified. The report was signed by Sidney Dillon, John Duff, Jesse L. Williams, Oliver Ames and Thomas C. Durant.

On the 11th of July, 1867, T. J. Carter, one of the government directors of the Union Pacific, arrived in Denver to confer with the citizens respecting plans for the construction of the branch contemplated by the Colorado Central & Pacific railway company. The object was to build a line via Denver and Golden City to the mines of Gilpin and Clear Creek counties. The road as thus defined would be about one hundred miles in length, and under arrangements made, or at least very generally and favorably considered, would be ironed and stocked by the Union Pacific company, provided our people would grade the bed and lay the ties. The cost of this part of the work was placed at about six hundred thousand dollars, which it was proposed to raise by an issue of county bonds, the company agreeing to accept and dispose of the same. Therefore, in order to place the matter in definite shape, a meeting was held the same evening in Cole's Hall, and called to order by General Bela M. Hughes, who eloquently advocated the necessity of uniting upon this or some other proposition for immediate connection with the trunk line then under rapid progress. He advised that in considering Mr. Carter's plan, all

differences and prejudices be laid aside, and the citizens of Denver urged to work in absolute harmony for the general welfare. He then nominated Governor Hunt for chairman of the meeting, and he was chosen, R. W. Woodbury of the "Tribune," acting as secretary. Governor Evans addressed the assemblage in much the same strain as Gen. Hughes had done, and closed by inviting Mr. Carter to state his proposition.

This was presented in the form of a statement that the Union Pacific company had spent three years in preparatory surveys to determine which was the most practicable route through the Rocky Mountains. Their charter, greatly to their regret, compelled them to locate their main line north of the great mineral deposits of Colorado. A meeting had been held in January, at which a committee to investigate and report upon the best means of reaching Denver by a branch, had been appointed. He (Carter) was made chairman. To ascertain the facts, he had come to this city for a searching examination of all the conditions. The topographical features of the mountains were such that the main line could not be located here, but a branch was entirely feasible, and direct connection would be thereby secured. Under the charter the Union Pacific company had no right to build branches; they could construct nothing but the main trunk, but a charter had been granted the Colorado Central company by the territorial legislature, and they proposed to avail themselves of the rights therein conceded. Accordingly, in June last an arrangement had been effected in Boston with this company, the Colorado Central & Pacific railway organized, and a certain amount of stock subscribed. To obtain the requisite means, various methods had been proposed, one suggesting individual subscriptions, another an issue of county bonds, and still another State or Territorial bonds. At length the scheme of county bonds had been decided upon, as the charter clearly authorized them. But the question must be submitted to the people. Therefore, it was for them to determine the result. The Union Pacific company, at its meeting held in June, had agreed to place the iron and rolling

stock on every twenty miles of road as soon as graded. The surveys were being made to discover the most practicable route. He then presented a general review of the condition of affairs here and throughout the country. Business was stagnant, transportation slow and very expensive. Many people were in doubt whether to remain and take the chances, or emigrate to more favorable lands. The remedy for this deplorable state of things was—railway communication, which could only be had through some such plan as he had set forth.

The proportion of bonds allotted to Arapahoe county was fixed at two hundred thousand dollars, which, when issued, the company would undertake to negotiate. In return the county would receive stock to the full amount of the issue of bonds. In answer to a question by General Pierce, concerning the intentions of the "Eastern Division," Mr. Carter said that company had decided to go south by Santa Fé and through Arizona to the Pacific. Mr. Loveland had the same understanding, which—assuming these impressions to be well founded—left Denver no alternative but to strike hands with Carter and himself, and aid them in completing the branch.

The matter having been fully digested, Governor Evans offered a resolution to the effect, that whereas the Colorado Central & Pacific railway company propose to locate and construct their road so as to connect with the main line of the Union Pacific at some eligible point on the same, running thence by the most feasible route direct to the city of Denver and thence to Golden City, Black Hawk, Central City and Georgetown, in the mountains, completing the same to this point at an early day, provided that Arapahoe County will give suitable aid in bonds, therefore resolved, that the County Commissioners of Arapahoe County be respectfully requested to submit the question of issuing two hundred thousand dollars of the bonds of said County at the approaching election, etc., etc. After some further discussion the resolutions were adopted. Dr. Morrison, M. M. De Lano, Governor Evans, F. J. Stanton, L. M. Koons, Bela M. Hughes and Governor Hunt were appointed a committee to confer and act with the County Com-

missioners, when the meeting adjourned, with rather jubilant feelings over the prospect of having a railroad.

These proceedings having been published, met the interested eye of Isaac E. Eaton, agent of the Eastern Division railway, who immediately replied in a card to the public, saying that Messrs. Carter and Loveland had created a false impression as to the intentions of the E. D. Company. He was authorized by the President and Directors to say, that they would build direct to Denver at the earliest possible date; that a corps of engineers under charge of Colonel Greenwood were then locating a line from the western boundary of Kansas, fifteen miles north of Pond Creek to Denver. The company wanted neither legislative nor other aid, but were coming anyhow, because this project had been incorporated among their fixed plans. They intended to accommodate the trade of Colorado with the East, and would adopt proper means to secure it.

For some days succeeding the events just narrated, the staple topic of conversation everywhere was the possible construction of a railroad, with some diversity of opinion as to which should be encouraged, Carter or the Eastern Division. And the time had arrived for something more tangible and forceful than mere talk. With the rapid advance of the Union Pacific and its final deflection to the North through the Black Hills, Denver's position was seriously threatened, and many of its sagacious business men contemplated removing to more favorable points. Later, the emigration to the new towns springing up in Kansas, Nebraska and Wyoming was very large. These constant drains of population awakened the aggressive forces to prompt action. They realized that something positive must be undertaken, or the fabric must fall. Those who possessed fixed interests here which could not be abandoned without ruinous consequences to themselves, based all their hopes of the future upon the promise afforded by the facts developed at the meeting in Cole's Hall. Upon this shred, flimsy as it proved to be, the people anchored their confidence, and began agitating with all their strength.



Samuel H. Martin

The County Commissioners were readily persuaded to submit the proposition of voting twenty-year eight per cent. bonds, with the proviso that the road should be built to Denver, which indicated some distrust of Carter and Loveland's ulterior purposes. It was felt that they might, unless restricted, carry the road off to Golden City which had been from the date of its founding, an aggressive though not very formidable rival. Intermingled with the general excitement were all manner of conjectures, reports and rumors respecting the aims of the Eastern Division, which figured prominently in the problem. While the Colorado Central party circulated reports that this line was making for Santa Fé, its officers exerted themselves to induce the belief that it had no such intention. Shortly, sentiment changed in favor of two railroads, when the possibility of securing the Eastern Division became apparent. Denver was but a feeble, struggling, inchoate frontier metropolis then, with great aspirations based upon rather insecure foundations, but it had some strong men who, as the sequel proved, were equal to the emergency of building and fortifying a great prestige. It possessed the same spirit in 1867-8 which in later times made it famous throughout the country, and those who were foremost in promoting railway enterprises when the Union Pacific was rushing along the continent at the rate of three or four miles a day, are still among the leaders of the present epoch. They had very little money, it is true, but they possessed the energy and fertility of resource which, rightly applied, brings mighty consequences.

To increase the ferment, Major Eaton produced a letter from John D. Perry, President of the Eastern Division, who, upon being advised as to the state of affairs, announced that two surveying parties would be sent out from Pond Creek, one to survey the route to Santa Fé or Albuquerque, via the Purgatoire and Fort Union, the other to proceed up the valley of the Huerfano and down the Rio Grande. A third party in charge of Col. W. C. Greenwood would make the survey from Pond Creek to Denver, and thence in the direction of the Union Pacific railway of the Platte. As all railway news was good news, this

announcement caused much rejoicing, though it was somewhat chilled by the contemplated detour of the main line southward to New Mexico.

The town of Cheyenne was established, in other words, organized under its charter, August 7th, 1867, as the terminus of the Union Pacific east of the mountains, and here large numbers of people congregated with the expectation that it would develop wonderful power, and become the great commercial emporium of the West. In the early stages it was a heterogeneous crowd of railroad followers, ambitious merchants, saloonkeepers, gamblers, dance house people, etc, the invariable conglomerate which characterizes the founding of most phenomenal towns in the West. It grew with amazing rapidity; money was abundant, and trade brisk and profitable, while in Denver stagnation prevailed to an extent which persuaded all who could leave, to join the procession just over the northern boundary. The railway movement dragged exasperatingly. In addition to the other advantages possessed by the new metropolis, a large military post was erected there. The promise of large machine and repair shops by the Pacific company lent an air of stability to the town, especially as the company contemplated spending large sums in other improvements. The disbursements for labor soon found their way into the magic city, where prosperity and crime walked hand in hand. It became the center of the mountain trade, drawing heavy tribute from Colorado at the expense of our own mercantile houses.

Meanwhile, as the surveys under the auspices of the Colorado Central progressed from Cheyenne southward into Colorado, the direction taken and a combination of other circumstances revived the old suspicion that Carter and Loveland had resolved to so locate the line as to make it of much greater advantage to Golden City than to Denver. Consequently the ardor of the voters here toward the bond proposition began to cool. But it was amended to provide that before the bonds were issued the road must be located on the east side of the Platte river, and come direct to Denver. This proviso quieted

public apprehension, which was caused in large degree by the fact that Boulder county had submitted the question to its electors of voting to subscribe fifty thousand dollars to the stock of the road, conditioned upon its location through that town. Notwithstanding the evident change of plans by the Colorado Central managers, the citizens' committee here strongly urged the people to vote for the bonds, as the change made in the proposition removed all danger of their being issued for use against the supreme interest of the city. Therefore, at the election held August 13th, the proposition was carried by a large majority.

In the meantime, Gen. Hughes had opened and maintained a correspondence with President Perry, calculated to develop the actual intentions of the Eastern division company relative to the construction of its road to Denver. He caused a large amount of data to be prepared, showing the state of business, the resources of the country to be developed under the greater advantages of rapid transit, and expressing the earnest hope of the people that the Kansas road would come and coöperate with them in the great work they had undertaken. He received the heartiest assurances of reciprocal esteem, with the positive declaration that Colonel Greenwood was then surveying the route from Pond Creek straight to Denver, and Gen. Hughes was instructed to assure the people of Colorado of their desire to reach them as speedily as possible.

Col. Greenwood's party arrived about the 1st of September, 1867, and soon afterward began surveying the return line via Cedar Point. As the Colorado Central persisted in its determination to follow the west side of the Platte, whereby it was seen that it had no intention of making this its terminal or principal station, it was abandoned by Denver, and left to its own devices. The Eastern Division kept alive the interest already excited in its favor, by frequent correspondence, conveying every evidence of encouragement that could be desired. Nothing definite occurred, however, until November 8th of the year mentioned, when a new impetus was imparted to the movement by the

arrival of Colonel James Archer, a prominent citizen of St. Louis, largely interested in great enterprises there and also in the Kansas road, who came as the representative of the Eastern Division Company to labor with our people in that interest. The road had been stranded, so to speak, at Pond Creek, where its government subsidy ceased. The company realized that it must go somewhere, and as all attempts to carry it south to Santa Fé had failed, its only hope lay in the Denver Extension. The main question was how to raise the money, and this formed one of Col. Archer's purposes in visiting this city.

A number of citizens called on him at his hotel for a general interchange of views. While no conclusion was reached, a committee consisting of General Hughes, Governor Evans, Mayor De Lano, Gen. F. M. Case, Major W. F. Johnson, *et al.*, was appointed to confer with Col. Archer on the following day. Archer told them his company desired and intended to build to Denver, but the subsidy had given out and they were, therefore, thrown upon their own resources. A contribution from Colorado would hasten the issue in view. The committee, now fully advised of the true state of affairs, resolved upon the organization of a Board of Trade for the purpose of effecting a compact association of the business men in a form that would enable them to operate unitedly in any scheme that should be perfected to attain the main objects of all interests—a railway. Dr. J. H. Morrison, Henry M. Porter and Fred Z. Salomon were appointed to formulate a plan for such organization. One of the propositions advanced was to bring all available influence to bear upon Congress for the extension of the subsidy to the Eastern Division in behalf of its construction to Denver, and failing in that, to rely wholly upon the bonds already voted, and such cash subscriptions as could be obtained.

The committee called a meeting in Cole's Hall for the organization of a Board of Trade, November 13th, when the following officers were chosen:

President, John W. Smith; First Vice-President, General John Pierce; Second Vice-President, Isaac Brinker; Directors, William M.

Clayton, J. H. Morrison, F. Z. Salomon, J. M. Strickler, George Tritch, D. H. Moffat, Jr., R. E. Whitsitt and J. S. Brown ; Secretary, Henry C. Leach ; Treasurer, Frank Palmer.

On the evening of the 14th, a second meeting, which took the broader plane of a public assembly, was held in the same place. The hall was crowded in anticipation of an address from George Francis Train, who had arrived that day. W. M. Clayton presided, and J. M. Strickler acted as Secretary. A committee of three—Henry C. Leach, J. H. Morrison and F. Z. Salomon—was instructed to prepare a constitution and by-laws for the Board of Trade. General Hughes made a spirited address upon the necessity of organization, because united effort was needed to meet the dangers then menacing the life of the city. Col. Archer being present, was invited to speak. He had little to say except that his road had been completed to a point twenty miles west of Hays City, and that when it arrived at Pond Creek the company would require aid from our citizens or it could come no further in this direction. Then by the universal desire, George Francis Train mounted the rostrum. Knowing the object of the large gathering, he began with the absorbing question of how to build a railway to the Union Pacific. As every one knows, Mr. Train arrogated to himself the distinction, in which he took infinite pride, of being the one colossal egotist of the age. His style of speaking, whether in private life or in public, was bombastic to the last degree, yet intermingled with the masses of trash were many thoughts worthy of profoundest respect. It will be comprehended by the reader of 1889, that in those days we were like drowning men, eagerly catching at every shred of hope that offered, and while in more prosperous times we have been inclined to accept the common verdict respecting Mr. Train's sanity, in the days of which we are treating, in our extremity we hailed this fanciful yet forceful prophet of good tidings and valuable suggestions with a heartiness that was a rare thing in his experience.

To begin with, he claimed to have been the original projector of the Union Pacific railway, and had broken ground for it at Omaha, thereby making that city its initial point. To supply the company with

ample funds, he had introduced the French system of Finance—(Credit Mobilier) which pushed the work forward. In considering the action taken here, he said the people had made a mistake in throwing their influence in favor of the Eastern Division, and by antagonizing the Northern line. The Kansas road could not be built to Denver in two years, and reiterated the old statement that it was going south without any intention of coming here, even by a branch. Col. Archer had said Denver could have his road by paying two millions of dollars for it. The Union Pacific was only one hundred miles to the northward, why not build in that direction when it could be done for much less money? It would be a comparatively easy matter; there was a natural road bed down the Platte to Cheyenne, on which the road could be constructed for twenty thousand per mile at the maximum, and possibly for twelve to fourteen thousand. This road he declared must be built, or the town would be given up, as everybody would move away. We must force the Eastern Division to surrender its land grant through this Territory, and the scheme must be organized at once.

On the 16th the Board of Trade met again, when General Pierce offered a series of resolutions which constituted the base of the first railway built upon the soil of Colorado, and therefore, one of the momentous events in its history. *First*, That a committee of five be appointed to select corporators for a railroad company, and that these corporators form a company to build a road from Denver to Cheyenne, or any other point on the Union Pacific railroad, and file the papers necessary for the same.

Second, The appointment of a committee of three to examine the general incorporation law, and prepare such amendments as were required, for presentation to the legislature.

Third, The appointment of a committee of five to take into consideration the expediency of building a railway from Denver to Pond Creek.

It is needless to say, that this well digested proposition was adopted with great enthusiasm. Pierce and his co-laborers had been thoroughly

awakened to the exigencies of the case. It was a warning to all property holders that they must act in unison and that quickly, to prevent still greater depreciation of values, and the wholesale emigration of people to the exciting fields springing up all along the continental railway. Sustaining his resolutions in a speech, he entered upon a thorough exposé of subject, presenting the estimates of F. M. Case, relating to the cost of grading, tying and bridging the road one hundred and ten miles, making the total expense, including engineering and incidentals, about five hundred thousand dollars. If this sum could be raised and the work accomplished, there was no doubt but that some company could be found to iron it and furnish the rolling stock.

On the first resolution to form a railroad company, the chair appointed Gen. Pierce, Bela M. Hughes, A. Steele, W. F. Johnson and F. M. Case; and on the second, Messrs. Hughes, Evans and Clayton.

On the 18th a mass meeting was held in the Denver theater, with especial reference to arousing all the people to the importance of prompt action and earnest co-operation. W. F. Johnson presided, and John Walker was made secretary. The chairman stated the objects and discussed them at some length. Governor Evans followed with the declaration, among others, that Denver could and would be made a great railway center, an assumption that was not generally accepted. It was too much to hope for, and the aspirations of the majority would have been well satisfied with one railroad, even if it had to be run by horse power—anything to put them into communication with the outer world, and break up the intolerable monotony of isolation. He predicted also, that in fifty years Denver would be the great bullion center of America. No one believed that either, yet both prophecies were verified twenty years later.

General Hughes in debate was like a war horse charging with all his might. Always an eloquent and impassioned speaker, on this occasion he surpassed himself. The time for talk and temporizing had passed, and the time for action had come. We must strip for the work and rely wholly upon ourselves, our energy, muscle and money. "When

we have said that the road *shall* be built," it was half accomplished. Then producing the incorporation papers, he read them to the audience, which was thereby advised of the organization of the "Denver Pacific Railroad Company."

General Pierce dealt almost entirely with the statistical and financial features, giving estimates of the volume of traffic the road would secure, suggesting various plans for raising the means to build it, and advancing the idea that every property owner could well afford to mortgage his estate for half its value in order to pay his subscriptions to this work, since in its completion it would be worth more than double its present value.

General Case chalked out on the blackboard a system of railroads covering the Territory, and gave a compendium of their cost, etc.

John W. Smith, John Evans, Luther Kountze, Joseph E. Bates, D. H. Moffat, Jr., Bela M. Hughes, John Pierce, W. F. Johnson, and William M. Clayton were the directors of the new company, who elected Bela M. Hughes, President; Luther Kountze, Vice-President; D. H. Moffat, Jr., Treasurer; W. F. Johnson, Secretary, and F. M. Case, Chief Engineer. At the Board of Trade meeting held on the 19th, the result of this election was announced, whereupon Major Johnson, in one of the powerful speeches for which he was noted, made the systematic arrangement of the plans decided upon by the company, and the importance of the great work to be done in which every able-bodied citizen was urged to take part, so clear to the large audience, there seemed to be no further occasion for public meetings, but rather a demand that everybody now strip for action and stay in the field until the road should be completed. He announced that subscriptions would be solicited on the following conditions :

In case the city or county should issue bonds for building the road, the stockholders would be entitled to the privilege of canceling their individual subscriptions by taking a like amount of such bonds, only ten per cent. to be called for during one month of time. Some had offered to take stock and pay for it in work on the road; others agreed to

furnish ties for a certain distance. Committees were sent out to canvass the entire city for donations of cash, work, or subscriptions to the stock, and they were very successful. John H. Martin, then proprietor of the old Planter's House, offered rooms for the use of the company free of charge. In one day the subscriptions aggregated two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. This result would be regarded as almost miraculous if obtained in 1889, but in 1867 with a poverty stricken city of less than four thousand inhabitants, it was simply astounding. It was a case, however, in which the only alternative was pay or perish. The joyful news was made the subject of an associated press dispatch which carried it all over the Union. As the enthusiasm increased, the Denver Pacific Company, grown strong under the public support, enlarged the sphere of its contemplated operations to cover about every practicable route in the Territory, in furtherance of its scheme to make Denver a great railway center. Maps were drawn and published, illustrating the radiation of these iron highways from the common center as spokes from a wheel hub. Not much faith was inspired by these fulminations. Denver was in the strait of one perishing from hunger, who feels as if one good square meal if he could only get it, would open the gates of paradise to his suffering soul. So they said, let us build one, and see how that works, then if we need another, and can get the means, we will build it.

In Cheyenne, where many former residents of Colorado were established in business, the jubilation over the brightening prospect here was scarcely less pronounced. Mr. B. L. Ford, the great caterer who had spent some years in Denver—then established in Cheyenne—and Harry Rogers, formerly Vice-President of the First National Bank, sent in a generous subscription to the railway fund, amounting to thirty-seven hundred dollars. About this time also, the Board of Trade began to move in the direction of locating the territorial capital at Denver as an eternal fixture, feeling that it had been long enough on wheels, and should have a permanent abiding place. As the initial step to this proceeding a committee selected for the purpose began searching for a

suitable location or site for a capitol building. Naturally, this manœuvre excited a belligerent feeling in Golden, which had long enjoyed the prestige of being the capital. The rivalry between the two places had been sharpened by Loveland and Carter's railway operations, and of course this endeavor to rob them of their one cherished institution brought out the full strength of their opposition.

At the meeting of the Legislature on the 2d of December, 1867, a bill was introduced providing for the transfer, upon the condition that the citizens of Denver should provide a suitable site and deed the same to the Territory free of charge. Loveland, who had been the controlling spirit of the place from its foundation, mustered his friends and girded his loins for a long and bitter fight. Denver responded with a powerful lobby, fortified with material inducements. After several days of hot discussion, the bill passed and was approved, whereupon the Legislature adjourned to meet in the new capital the following day. Quarters were secured in the Colorado Seminary for the executive offices and the House of Representatives, and a vacant storeroom on Larimer street for the Council or Senate. The commissioners appointed by the acting Governor to locate the Capitol site were A. A. Bradford of Pueblo, William M. Roworth of Central City, and Joseph M. Marshall of Denver.

The action taken here in the formation of a company to build a road to Cheyenne, developed renewed entreaties from the Eastern Division managers not to be rash, with some candid advice against trusting our future to promises that could not be realized. But as it was well known that this company was in deep distress for the want of funds, and as it was impossible to raise the two millions demanded by Colonel Archer, no further negotiations were made in that direction until after the work of grading the Denver Pacific was completed.

On the 27th of December, the county commissioners ordered a special election for the 20th of January, 1868, upon the question of subscribing five hundred thousand dollars to the stock of the Denver Pacific railroad. Meanwhile, Messrs. Loveland and Carter had not been

idle, though repeatedly disappointed in their endeavors to perfect their enterprise through the enlistment of eastern capital. They had a company but no funds. Nevertheless, determined to keep the matter alive, on the first day of January, 1868, they inaugurated work on the Colorado Central & Pacific at a point on the northern limit of the town near the present location of the Union Pacific freight depot. The able bodied citizens assembled with picks and shovels, formed in procession, and marched to the spot where the first ground was to be broken. During the day about two hundred feet of road bed was graded, and ready for the ties, but it was not until the fall of 1870 that the iron was laid and the locomotive shrieked its entry into the beautiful basin where now nestles one of the prettiest towns in the State. At the inauguration ceremonies, embellished as usual with speeches, and possibly stimulated by a few bottles of wine, Capt. E. L. Berthoud, chief engineer of the Colorado Central, offered this prophetic sentiment :

"Golden City and Denver: May the influence of railroads extend their borders until their streets are united, and the houses upon them stand side by side."

Though not yet verified, who shall say that in the fulness of time, or perhaps ten or twenty years hence at the existing rate of progress from North Denver toward the mountains, it may not be actually demonstrated? Already there is a continuous line of settlement, and though not as densely populated as the gallant Captain foresaw that one day it would be, the complete realization of his vision is by no means a very remote possibility.

On the evening of January 13th, 1868, Judge J. P. Usher—Secretary of the Interior under Abraham Lincoln—and Ex-Governor Carney of Kansas, addressed the Denver Board of Trade upon the crisis of the railway situation. They were here as the representatives of the Eastern Division company, and took this method of presenting its views, prospects and intentions. Both made exhaustive speeches, setting forth the details of their mission, and stoutly protesting against the folly of attempting to secure railway connection by building to Cheyenne, concluding with a

proposition to our people to turn their energies and their means in the direction of Pond Creek.

Major W. F. Johnson made the first reply in a ten minute speech, which for keen analysis and powerful argument that stripped the whole question of all the sophistries thrown around it by these wily diplomats, Usher and Carney, was never surpassed in the annals of the period. He left absolutely nothing to build even the shred of a hope upon that the work begun by the Denver Pacific Company, though hampered by great difficulties, would be abandoned. The Kansas road might come or not, the Denver Pacific would be completed. The people had solemnly resolved that nothing should interrupt the plans laid out. He was followed by General Bela M. Hughes in an address of great power. He told them that we had waited and longed for the Eastern Division to demonstrate its good intentions, but when Col. Archer came and demanded a bonus of two millions of dollars as the ultimatum of that company, the people rejected it once for all, and immediately instituted an enterprise of their own. They proposed to build and pay for their line, and no proposition which Usher or his associates could advance looking to its desertion, would be entertained for a single moment. They would be glad to have the Kansas road, but it must come, if at all, upon its own resources. Not content with this rebuff, a second meeting was held the following day, but without further result.

At the election on the 20th of January the county commissioners were authorized by a very large majority of the voters to issue the half million of bonds to the Denver Pacific Company. Among the advices received at the time, was a letter from Gen. G. M. Dodge, which stated that he had been to New York with Gen. Pierce to make arrangements looking to the early construction of the Denver Branch. The Union Pacific directors then announced their readiness to build the branch, provided Denver came forward promptly with its part of the agreement, and would have it completed by the next autumn. There would be no delay on their part. If Denver had her money ready they would give her the road, and that speedily.

General Pierce returned from New York February 23d, and reported to a meeting of citizens on the 24th. He had entered into a contract which provided that as fast as the Denver company should grade and tie a road bed from Cheyenne to this city, they would place the iron and rolling stock thereon, the laying of the iron to commence when the first twenty miles should be graded, and so on to the end. The contract provided further, that the road should begin at Denver on the east side of the Platte, and run thence to Cheyenne by the most direct and practicable route, the location to be approved by the chief engineer of the Union Pacific. About the last of February, General Hughes resigned the presidency of the company, and was succeeded by Major W. F. Johnson.

The Arapahoe County bonds having been prepared and issued, Mr. D. H. Moffat went East to negotiate them, stopping at Cheyenne en route, where he was invited to appear before the council of that city and explain the programme of arrangements, since a proposition had been made to its authorities to vote bonds in aid of the enterprise. As a result of this conference with Mr. Moffat, a committee was appointed by the council—our townsman Mr. Joseph T. Cornforth being one of the number, to meet the directors of the D. P. Company with a view to further negotiations.

Major Johnson died March 5th, 1868, and on the 16th Governor Evans was elected his successor. He went to Chicago and delivered an address to the Board of Trade, stating the condition of affairs here and urging a subscription of two hundred thousand dollars to the bonds, claiming that the amount would soon be returned to the trade of Chicago through the increased business of Colorado that would follow railway communication. Though he labored diligently for some time, the effort proved wholly abortive.

A contract for building the road was negotiated and signed at Cheyenne, through the joint efforts of John W. Smith, A. B. Daniels and Fred Z. Salomon, and the undertaking assumed by T. C. Durant and Sidney Dillon. Denver was to expend half a million dollars in

grading, tying and bridging, and the remainder was to be done by the other parties to the contract.

The Board of Trade, unwilling to accept failure in Chicago, appointed F. Z. Salomon, J. S. Brown and Henry M. Porter a committee to go there and make a thorough canvass of the business men for subscriptions to the Arapahoe County bonds, in connection with Governor Evans, and a committee from the Chicago Board of Trade. At the same time General Pierce was vigorously working Cheyenne on the plan of offering contracts to parties who would agree to take thirty-three per cent. of their pay in Denver Pacific stock.

At a meeting of the Board of Trade May 4th, Gen. Pierce announced that Messrs. Durant and Dillon, whom he met at Cheyenne, were not satisfied with the previous contract, and therefore a supplemental paper had been drawn to meet the exigencies more fully, whereby those gentlemen agreed to build the entire road, and a sub-contract was taken by the Denver Pacific company to expend five hundred thousand dollars on the line, as before stated. The route between Denver and the Platte crossing on the east side had been approved, but between that point and Cheyenne it was disapproved. Durant and Dillon proposed to have it examined by the Union Pacific engineers. Within two weeks from the date of this report work would begin at the northern end of the line. When finished, the Union Pacific would lease the road on terms that would insure eight per cent. on its stock, which in effect amounted to a guaranty of our county bonds.

On Monday, May 18th, 1868, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the work of grading the Denver Pacific began at a point about one mile north of the city as then defined, between the grounds of the Colorado Agricultural Society and the Platte River. Wagons, carriages and all sorts of vehicles conveyed all the people they would hold to the historic spot, and great numbers marched out in groups. It is perhaps needless to add that a brass band was chartered for the occasion, or that an abundant supply of "wet groceries" or dusty

throat lubricants, had a part in the enthusiastic procession. Within the hour something over a thousand people gathered to witness the inauguration of what to them seemed the greatest enterprise of the age. At a quarter-past eleven the band opened with a lively quickstep, and simultaneously two teams began plowing, Lyman Cole and T. G. Anderson each driving a team, while the handles were guided by Miss Nettie Clark and Mrs. F. J. Stanton. Billy Marchant opened a keg of beer, and General Pierce suggested three cheers, which brought forth a thundering response. John W. Smith did the primary shovel work, and Governor Gilpin made a characteristic speech in which some notable predictions were advanced. This ended the preliminary ceremonies, when the grading proceeded in the regular way by men paid for this part of the performance.

Despite all the efforts of the committee, no considerable amount, if indeed any part of the bonds, were negotiated in Chicago. On the 24th of June, 1868, the capital stock of the Denver Pacific was increased from two millions to four millions by vote of the directors, an act impelled by their contract with the Union Pacific, which exacted a certain amount of the stock per mile in addition to the consideration already named. When the bonds were voted, it was upon the understanding that the county was to receive in exchange one-fourth of the stock. The increase reduced its share to one-eighth. But the contract left the company no other alternative.

On the 26th of June, Senator Harlan introduced a bill authorizing the Denver Pacific Railroad and Telegraph Company to connect its road and telegraph with the Union Pacific near Cheyenne, acquiring thereby the privileges, and assuming the obligations of the other branches of the U. P. road, and becoming entitled to similar grants of land, with right of way upon the completion of the Eastern Division to Denver, the construction of the line from the latter point to Cheyenne being taken in lieu of its construction by the Eastern Division company, and acquiring for that portion the same rights and privileges as though it had been built by the latter.

During all this time the line to be pursued from Platte crossing northward, remained unlocated, and we believe unsurveyed, consequently the work of grading stopped for the want of its determination. Senator Harlan's bill did not pass before the Congressional recess, and no satisfaction could be obtained from the U. P. Directors. It became quite painfully apparent to the harassed forces at this end of the line that they were staving off a decision, and possibly seeking an opportunity to abrogate their contract. Gen. Pierce went on to meet them, but the trip was a failure. The Eastern Division people were in an equally depressing plight. Their hopes of obtaining a subsidy for the extension of their road by the southern route to California had gone by the board. They opposed Harlan's bill conveying their land grant to the Denver Pacific, which prevented its passage. Just before the adjournment of Congress, however, a mutual understanding was brought about through the efforts of Governor Evans, and their opposition was withdrawn. But it was then too late to get the measure through, and thus another heavy blow was dealt to the Colorado enterprise which was severely damaging. Governor Evans secured an assignment in writing from the president of the Eastern Division Company of its right of way and grant of lands. If the bill had passed, it would have given the Denver company a substantial basis for its securities, and enabled both companies to issue, under a law of Congress, mortgage bonds on their roads to the amount of thirty-two thousand dollars per mile. When the bill became a law as it did at the ensuing session, these conditions rendered the company comparatively independent.

In an address delivered by Governor Evans about this time, he outlined a system of railroads for Colorado which was to make this city a great railway center, as follows; Denver to Golden City, Central and Georgetown; to the coal fields of Boulder County; up the Platte Cañon to the South Park and beyond into the Valley of the Blue; to Pueblo, Trinidad and the San Luis Park, and another to run the entire length of the Arkansas Valley in Colorado.

Verily these were vast campaigns for the commander-in-chief of one little struggling railroad to plan so far in advance of the beggarly pittance required to grade and tie that road one hundred and ten miles. But as already stated, there were some giants in those days, who never faltered in their faith that Denver, through their efforts, could be made a marvelous city, and the thinly populated Territory of Colorado a wonderful State. Most of those robust projectors have lived to witness the fulfillment of their dreams.

Having secured the land grant, the company began to take positive measures for a vigorous advance. They waited no longer for the Union Pacific directors to locate the disputed portion of the line, but located it themselves. They realized that with the road bed fully prepared for the iron, no serious difficulty would be met in discovering the means to put it in running order. The grading was only half completed.

The first annual meeting of the stockholders of the Denver Pacific Railway and Telegraph Company was held on Monday December 14th, 1868, when William M. Clayton was elected chairman, and R. R. McCormick, Secretary. At this meeting, John Evans, W. M. Clayton, John W. Smith, F. W. Cram, D. H. Moffat, Jr., John Pierce, Joseph E. Bates, A. B. Daniels and F. Z. Salomon were chosen directors, who at a subsequent meeting elected John Evans President; John Pierce Vice-President; R. R. McCormick Secretary and Auditor; D. H. Moffat, Jr., Treasurer; F. M. Case Chief Engineer; and John Pierce Consulting Engineer. At this time the Eastern Division company had located its line to Denver, and thence via the valleys of the Platte and Cache la Poudre to a point of connection with the main line of the Pacific road west of the Black Hills, and their lands had been withdrawn from the market. But it appears the St. Louis company had not wholly abandoned the plan of making a through line to the Pacific, for they surveyed a route from a point east of the Raton Mountains all the way to the coast. Among the reports of the officers rendered to the Denver Pacific at the annual meeting, was one which stated that the agreement with the Union Pacific directors contemplated the extension

of the Denver, Central and Georgetown road in connection with the Denver Pacific.

The Denver, South Park & Rio Grande Railway Company had also been organized for the purpose of constructing a line up the valley of the Platte to the South Park, and thence to the valley of the Rio Grande del Norte, with a branch to the Middle Park on the line of the Blue River, and a grant of lands in aid of its construction had been applied for. They had organized as another important enterprise, the Denver & Santa Fé Railway Company, upon a route leading along the base of the mountains to the southern line of the Territory, via Colorado City, Pueblo and Trinidad.

The Denver Pacific Telegraph line was completed to Cheyenne January 1st, 1869, when congratulatory messages were exchanged between Mayor W. M. Clayton of this city, and Mayor Luke Murrin of Cheyenne. This line was constructed in less than two months' time, under contract with the U. S. & Mexico Telegraph Company, and this in very cold and stormy weather.

In January, 1869, a bill was introduced in Congress which authorized the Eastern Division company to contract with the Denver Pacific company for the construction, operation and maintenance of that part of the line between Denver and its point of connection with the Union Pacific, and to take its grant of lands; also that the Eastern Division company should extend its road to the city of Denver, so as to form, with that part, a continuous line from Kansas City via Denver to Cheyenne, and both companies were authorized to mortgage their respective roads on a basis of thirty-two thousand dollars per mile. This bill passed on the 2d of March and was approved on the 5th, when Governor Evans, who had gone to Washington to look after the measure, left for Colorado. The rejoicing here over this event was spontaneous and universal. The people improvised a celebration, exploded fireworks, lighted great bonfires in the streets, and in every way manifested their delight over the auspicious opening of a more prosperous era. The graders resumed work, the bridge builders began

anew, and at last it seemed as if the road were to be pushed to a finish. On the day the bill passed Governor Evans gave a dinner to the Coloradoans then in Washington. Governor Hunt, J. B. Chaffee, Judge Bradford, George M. Chilcott, B. B. Stiles, H. P. Bennett, John B. Wolff, O. A. Whittemore, George T. Clark, John Hughes, Isadore Deitsch, Mark A. Shaffenburg, M. M. De Lano, George Bancroft, George H. Vickroy, Col. Webster, S. M. Hoyt, George W. Brown, E. M. Ashley, and others who had gone down to the capital to lend what aid they could toward the good cause, were present. Governor Evans returned March 25th, and on the 27th was given a reception at the Methodist church.

On the 27th of July, 1869, Gen. Wm. J. Palmer, superintendent of the Eastern Division, arrived to confer with the Denver company, and to close negotiations which had been pending for some time, for the completion of the Denver Pacific, the contract with the Union Pacific having been nullified, under the following circumstances: Evans went to Boston and New York to urge the Union Pacific directors to compliance with their agreement. After evading him for nearly a month on one pretext and another, he brought them to bay at last, when they confessed their inability by reason of financial embarrassments to meet their engagements. But they generously offered to sell him the iron if he could raise the money to pay for it. Of course the negotiations terminated at once. The Governor went to capitalists in Philadelphia and St. Louis who were interested in the Kansas road, and finding them favorable, a scheme was perfected whereby the Kansas or Eastern division company agreed to furnish the iron and other materials for the immediate completion of at least one-half of the Denver Pacific. Meanwhile, the Eastern Division company was compelled to raise nine millions of dollars wherewith to build its road on to Denver, a task which, after great difficulty, was at length accomplished.

Governor Evans, Gen. Carr, D. H. Moffat, Walter S. Cheesman and others took the contract to complete the Denver Pacific; sold its bonds to the amount of a million dollars, purchased the iron, and in

September, 1869, track laying began from Cheyenne southward, and was completed to the town of Evans, in Weld county, December 13th, 1869. Here a long halt was made, awaiting negotiations for the completion of the other half. These were finally consummated, and on the 15th of June, 1870, the first locomotive rolled into Denver, where it was met with great rejoicing. The Eastern Division, now the Kansas Pacific, reached the same point about the middle of August in the same year.

The eastern terminus of the Union Pacific railroad was fixed at Council Bluffs, Iowa, by the decision of General U. S. Grant, who was empowered by law to establish the initial point of that road. The projector of this colossal enterprise whose rapid whirl across the continent astonished the civilized world and is without precedent in history, was Professor Asa Whitney, of California, who, from the time of its inception worked unremittingly toward its accomplishment. It was next taken up by Senator Thomas Benton of Missouri, whose interest had been stimulated by the various expeditions made by his son-in-law John C. Fremont. He introduced the original Pacific railway bill in 1849, and in 1853 as stated in the chapter relating to Capt. Gunnison's survey, an act was passed providing for the survey of three lines, with the view of adopting the most feasible of the series. Little more was done until 1864-5, when Congress passed an act providing for a subsidy in bonds bearing six per cent. interest, at the rate of sixteen thousand dollars per mile from the Missouri River to the base of the Rocky Mountains; thence for a distance of three hundred miles a subsidy of forty-eight thousand per mile, and thence to the Sierra Nevada Mountains sixteen thousand per mile. This liberal offer was further supplemented by twenty sections of land for each mile of road constructed, or a total of twenty-five million acres. In addition, discovering that even this munificence failed to arouse the interest of capital, Congress relinquished its first lien and took a second mortgage, allowing the company which should build it to issue its own bonds at the same rate per mile and securing them by a first lien. The Central Pacific company commenced

work in 1863. The first two sections of twenty miles each, west from Omaha, were completed in 1865. The entire road was opened to traffic May 12th, 1869. Under the marvelous direction of the Casement brothers, managers of the construction from a point west of Fremont to Ogden, the road seemed to fly across the plains. There were many days in which two, three and four miles of track were laid, and as an illustration of what they could do and thus challenge the world to equal the performance, they laid eight miles in one day.

The preliminary surveys for the Union Pacific cost more than a million of dollars. Its length is ten hundred and twenty-nine miles, and that of the Central Pacific eight hundred and eighty-one miles. The cost of the lines is thus summarized by Appleton's Cyclopædia: "Of the Union Pacific in capital stock, mortgage bonds and land grant income and Government bonds was reported to the Secretary of the Interior at \$112,259,360, or an average of \$108,778 per mile, but the liabilities of the company at the date of the completion of the road were \$116,730,052, or an average of \$113,110 per mile. Jesse L. Williams, one of the government Directors, and a civil engineer of great experience, in a report to the Secretary of the Interior dated November 14th, 1868, gave the approximate cost of the Union Pacific in cash at \$38,824,821, or an average of about \$35,000 per mile. The cost of the Central Pacific and branches, 1,222 miles in stock, bonds, and liabilities of every sort was reported in 1874 at \$139,746,311, or an average of \$114,358 per mile."

The first sleeping cars were patented in 1858, but were superseded by the invention of George M. Pullman, whose first cars were built in 1864. The Pullman Palace Car Company was organized in 1867. Mr. Pullman was for two or three years a resident of Colorado.

The passenger fare on the Union Pacific from Cheyenne to Omaha in 1868, was fifty-one dollars and fifty cents, and from Denver—the interval by stage—it was sixty-one dollars and fifty cents. The freight rates were, Omaha to Cheyenne,—first-class \$3.85, second class \$3.70, and third class, \$3.55 per 100 pounds.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE MURDERERS OF PONT NEUF CANON—THEIR PURSUIT BY THE VIGILANTES OF MONTANA—A THRILLING INCIDENT OF THE FRONTIER—OVERLAND MERCHANDISE TRAFFIC—COLORADO AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION—THE BOSTON & COLORADO SMELTING WORKS—OPENING OF A NEW ERA—GOVERNOR HUNT'S ADMINISTRATION—TRIALS AND DIFFICULTIES—DESTRUCTION OF CROPS BY GRASSHOPPERS—THE AMERICAN HOTEL—RENEWAL OF THE STATE MOVEMENT—LOCATION OF THE TERRITORIAL PENITENTIARY—RIOT IN TRINIDAD—ARRIVAL OF GRANT, SHERMAN AND SHERIDAN—RETURN OF SCHUYLER COLFAX—CHILCOTT'S RECORD IN CONGRESS—THE INDIAN WAR OF 1868—GREAT EXCITEMENT—THE COLFAX PARTY ENDANGERED—PURSUIT OF THE INDIANS BY SHERIDAN—TERRIBLE EXPERIENCE OF COLONEL FORSYTHE ON THE REPUBLICAN.

Among my notes of 1865 is an incident, parts of which came to my knowledge at the time of its occurrence, and though very quietly conducted it possessed thrilling interest for the few acquainted with the facts. During the year in question, the exact date not now recalled, as many of the readers of this history will remember, a stage driver named Frank Williams, employed on the route from Salt Lake to Helena, Montana Territory, drove a coach load of passengers who carried large sums of money, into an ambuscade of "road agents" who were concealed in Pont Neuf Cañon, and with whom he was in league, where they were killed and robbed. The Vigilantes of Montana, than which no more resolute body of regulators was ever organized, took the matter in hand, pursuing every member of the gang to exile or execution. As soon as the robbers and the stage driver discovered that these terrible avengers were after them, they fled in different directions, some taking ship at San Francisco for China or Japan. Williams was traced to

several points and finally to Salt Lake, where the clue was clearly established to his pursuers. But he got wind of them sufficiently in advance to enable him to make another attempt at concealment by coming across the mountains to Denver. Arriving here, he took a room at the old Planter's House. A short time afterward the vigilantes, two in number, entered the same hotel, and as they passed the dining room door, near which Williams was seated he espied them and divining their errand, secreted himself until the next stage went out to the eastward, when he took passage for the Missouri River. The Montana men went to the office desk, where they registered and then began some inquiries of Mr. Alonzo Rice, the clerk in charge. It was not long before they were again upon the trail of Williams, but only to find that he had escaped them a second time. Ascertaining the direction he had taken, they called for a carriage and the swiftest horses that could be had, and were soon flying after the stage. By very rapid driving it was overtaken near Godfrey's Station, some distance down the Platte. The vigilantes drove up, their horses reeking with foam, halted the driver and stepping to the door of the coach, opened it, beckoned Williams to get out, closed it and ordering the driver to proceed, took charge of their prisoner, who instantly realized that his doom was sealed. There was no opportunity for resistance or escape. They placed him in the carriage, returned to Denver and lodged him in the old jail on Larimer street near the corner of Fourteenth. The next move was to advise the Vigilance Committee here, which was composed of reputable citizens acting as a "Committee of Safety," of their capture of Williams, and the awful crime with which he was charged. Court was convened in a large room over John A. Nye's store, the prisoner brought before it, the charges preferred, testimony taken, and an impartial trial given him, which lasted about three days, in the course of which Williams made a full confession of his part in the terrible tragedy, giving the names and, as far as he knew, the whereabouts of his accomplices, fifteen in number.

Sentence of death having been pronounced upon him, he was

taken by his captors in a close carriage to a point about four miles below the city in a cluster of cottonwood trees near the Platte River, and there hanged. When life was extinct they cut him down, buried the remains near the tree and disappeared. Some years afterward, a farmer while plowing over the spot, turned up the skeleton of Frank Williams, the stage driver of Pont Neuf Cañon. He reported the fact, though ignorant of the identity of the bones, to the police of Denver, but nothing was done about it.

The author having been a guest at the Planter's House when Williams and the vigilantes were there, was informed of the pursuit and capture, but the later developments were obtained from Mr. Rice during the progress of this work.

To give an idea of the amount of merchandise brought over the plains from Atchison, the principal shipping point on the Missouri River, destined for Colorado, Utah and New Mexico, the "Champion," the leading newspaper of that city, then as now edited by Col. John A. Martin, kept as full an account as could be obtained, each year from 1858 to 1865 inclusive, with the following result: 1858, 3,730,000 pounds; 1859, 4,020,905; 1860, 8,220,883; 1861, 5,438,456; 1864, 16,639,380; 1865, 24,585,000. Therefore, we have as the possible traffic to be obtained by a railway in 1865, when the Union Pacific began its march, a total of fifteen hundred and thirty-six carloads of sixteen thousand pounds each, for the three Territories named. Twenty-two years later the freight receipts of Denver alone amounted to more than one hundred thousand carloads.

In 1867 George W. Maynard, a mining engineer of great present celebrity, was appointed by Governor Cummings, Commissioner for Colorado to the Paris Exposition of that year, established on a scale of unequalled magnificence by Napoleon III.

The appointee being unable to go, declined, when Acting-Governor Hall tendered the place to J. P. Whitney of Boston, who, being largely engaged in the development of our mines, signified his willingness to accept, and also to collect a fine exhibit of rare and representative min-

erals to be added to his already superior cabinet, and take them to the Exposition at his own expense. The effect of this representation was salutary, for it induced several eminent scientists of Europe to make exhaustive examination of the gold, silver and other resources of the Territory, whose favorable reports, when published, caused the investment of much foreign capital in them. Commissioner Whitney returned October 3d, accompanied by Col. M. Heine and M. Simonin, French commissioners, who were received and entertained by the Miners' and Mechanics' Institute of Central City.

The declaration that the event of greatest importance to the Territory in the period under consideration was the inauguration, at Black Hawk, of the Boston and Colorado smelting works, is by no means extravagant, as we shall demonstrate by a glance at the facts. From the date of the exhaustion of the surface decompositions in the principal fissures from which, the gold being free, it was easily extracted, to the beginning of 1868, there had been no method of treatment, owing to the lack of scientific knowledge, capable of dealing with the refractory elements in the ores which supervened. The stamp mills at their best returned only a small percentage of the ascertained contents of the ores. Science and its improvements had not yet ventured to attack the great metallurgical questions opened on this remote frontier. As a matter of fact, both miners and mill men were groping in darkness, each in his particular sphere, but neither making substantial progress. The first knew only the primitive ways of sinking shafts and driving levels; the second knew how to set the machinery of his mill in motion, but only the elementary principles relating to the use and effect of chemicals in aid of amalgamation. When the "clean ups" were unsatisfactory, the gold was declared to be "rusty," therefore would not adhere to the plates; or, the ore was "lean," or so refractory it could not be worked. The concentrates, rich in gold and silver, passed over the plates, down through the sluices into the bed of Clear Creek, and thus the miner lost forever some of the richest fruits of his labor. If saved they were of no use, consequently the entire

gulch from Nevada to Golden City and the Platte River was strewn with material which, could it have been collected and utilized, would have netted hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Then came, in 1864-5, a cloud of "process men," each with the only conceivable remedy for meeting the emergencies of the rather deplorable situation. Every scheme but the right one offered its services: The "Keith desulphurizer," to destroy the refractory constituents and leave the precious metals free for amalgamation; the "Crosby & Thompson," with its revolving cylinders and columns of fire; the "Mason process," which operated under newly discovered conditions; the "Monnier Metallurgical Process," that expelled the sulphur, reduced the copper and other metals to a soluble condition, and, by leaching, collected them, and so on through an interminable line. After expending all the capital that could be wrung from the investors supporting them, each attempt in turn was abandoned, and the costly machinery in due time found its way to the scrap iron heaps of the several foundries.

Then came James E. Lyon & Co. with a new patent desulphurizer which, after repeated trials, shared the common disaster. Next he built a series of expensive smelters that for a time promised to meet the exigency, but when about two hundred and seventy thousand dollars had been squandered in the comparatively fruitless endeavor, this enterprise, also, the greatest of all, sank into irretrievable ruin.

The absolute failure of these and numerous other attempts to solve the paramount enigma, brought the mining industry and the people at large to the verge of despair. All who could leave emigrated to other fields. The hopelessness of those who remained was well nigh immeasurable. The period between 1864 and 1868 was undoubtedly the darkest in our history. It was the period of scanty supplies, high wages, Indian wars, the incessant interruption of our communications. Even these conditions, deplorable as they were, might have been more patiently endured had there been even a gleam of light ahead, or any certain prospect of eventual redemption.

From 1856 to 1864 Nathaniel P. Hill attained much distinction as professor of chemistry in Brown university, at Providence, Rhode Island. In the year last named he was commissioned by a syndicate of Boston capitalists to examine and report upon the resources, mineral and otherwise, of the Gilpin grant in the San Luis Park, Colorado. In 1865 he returned to the Territory, and entered upon a careful inspection of the mines and minerals of Gilpin and Clear Creek counties, then the only lode mining sections developed to any appreciable extent. This examination, together with proper analyses of the ores, convinced him that no part of the world presented greater possibilities than this. Becoming deeply interested in the subject, and resolved to pursue it to right conclusions, he collected about seventy tons of mineral from the different mines and took them to Swansea, Wales, for treatment by the smelters there, and spent the winter of 1865-6 in close application to the study of the process in all its various details. Having mastered the information sought, he returned to Boston, and in the spring of 1867 organized the Boston & Colorado smelting company, with a full paid capital of two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. In June following, under the direction of Professor Herman Beeger, a veteran metallurgist, experimental works, consisting of one reverberatory and one calcining furnace with the requisite machinery for crushing, pulverizing, etc., were erected. In January, 1868, the fires were lighted, and the institution opened for business.

Finding a ready cash market for their products, the miners by hundreds reoccupied their abandoned claims, the supplies multiplied rapidly, the curtain of doubt was lifted, and the dawn of a new era appeared. For a time the feeling prevailed that this was simply an experiment like its predecessors, and would have the same ending, but as the fires continued to blaze, and all the ores offered were purchased and paid for as soon as their value could be determined, conjecture gave way to confidence, the hills reverberated the sounds of blasting from morning till night, and soon it became necessary to increase the

number of furnaces, so that in a few years the works were elevated to the plane of the central industry of the country.

In the primary stages the deductions for treatment were necessarily large. On the other hand, the producers, through fictitious assays, had been given exaggerated conceptions of the value of their ores. In order to impress the outside world with the importance of the region, and thereby induce immigration and the investment of capital, the press and most of the people in the course of their calculations settled down upon an average of about two hundred dollars per ton as the probable value of all the ores of the district. But the uncompromising tests of reduction in bulk quickly dispelled the illusion, hence when the balances were paid, the miners felt that great injustice had been done them. Remonstrance deepened into general clamor against the works, and, incited by evil influences which condemned without investigating, threatened to become serious. At length the editor of the "Miner's Register," at the request of Professor Hill, made an examination of the entire system and published the facts, which quieted the opposition. While there could be no dispute as to the excessive charges, it must be remembered that all the conditions of the country were crude and expensive; that there were no railways; no cheap transportation, and that all charges, even for the necessities of life, were in like degree extortionate. The products of the furnaces instead of being refined on the ground, had to be shipped to the Missouri River in wagons, and thence to Swansea at great expense. Wages were high, and especially of the skilled labor here employed.

When expedient, the prices for ores were advanced, so that in time the producers and the reducers came together upon the most amicable understanding.

The business of the company grew rapidly, and in 1873 the capital was increased to five hundred thousand dollars. A branch smelting establishment was erected at Alma in Park County, with H. R. Wolcott and Prof. Beeger in charge. At this time the Dolly Varden, Moose and several other mines were producing large quantities of valuable

silver ores, and the works were built to accommodate them. They were continued as smelting works until the Denver & South Park railroad was constructed to a neighboring place; since that time they have been used only as sampling works, the ores being sent to Argo to be smelted.

Probably the most important event in connection with this company's history, next to the inauguration of the enterprise in 1867, occurred in this year. Until 1873, the company confined its operations to making matte which was sent to Vivian & Sons, Swansea, Wales, for the separation and refining of the gold, silver and copper. Without any previous notice, they refused to receive the matte, claiming that they had lost heavily on the contract, therefore the Boston & Colorado company was suddenly left without a market for its products.

Matte to the value of over one hundred thousand dollars which was then in transit between Black Hawk and Swansea, was sold in Germany at a lower price than the company is now paying in Denver for similar matte. There was but one thing left for the company to do, and that was to go into the refining business, and send the gold, silver and copper products to the market as pure, or nearly pure metals. This undertaking, owing to conditions which then existed in Black Hawk, where the company's works were still located, seemed very doubtful as to its results. Fortunately the services of Prof. Richard Pearce, a man who combined a thoroughly scientific education with a large practical experience in metallurgical operations in Swansea, could be had. Under his direction, the refining works soon began issuing the pure silver bricks, and have continued to do so, to this time, without the loss of a day, in the fifteen years.

At first, the copper product which still contained the gold, was sent to Boston, where the company, under the direction of Prof. Beeger, erected works for the purpose of manufacturing sulphate of copper, and refining the gold; but in a short time, Prof. Pearce discovered a more economical method of separating the gold from the copper, and the Boston works were abandoned.

Shortly after the erection of the refining plant, Mr. Henry R. Wolcott was appointed assistant manager, and took an active part in the management of the affairs of the company, until he retired in 1887.

In 1878 this company, finding that it was necessary to have more ground, the cheaper fuel afforded by the coal beds of the plains, and better railway facilities, with an opportunity to draw supplies from every available mining section of the State, as well as from Arizona, New Mexico, Utah and Montana, removed its plant to a commodious site on the north side of the Platte River, three miles below Denver, which was appropriately christened "Argo."

The enlargement of the business consequent upon this movement made it necessary that the capital should be increased to one million dollars, which was done in February, 1880.

The value of the products of the works, from 1868 to 1887, as presented in the following table, affords a fair index of the enterprise of the management.

That the growth and development of the mining industry in the Rocky Mountain regions has been even much more rapid, is shown by the fact, that, while for the first ten years the Boston & Colorado Smelting Company had no competition in the business of smelting and refining ores, during the last ten years, many other large establishments have been built up, and are now carrying on extensive operations.

The following is the value of the gold, silver and copper produced by the Boston & Colorado Smelting Company, from 1868 to 1887, inclusive:

1868.....	\$ 270,886
1869.....	489,875
1870.....	652,329
1871.....	848,571
1872.....	999,954
1873.....	1,210,670
1874.....	1,638,877
1875.....	1,947,000
1876.....	2,097,000
1877.....	2,154,000

1878.....	\$2,259,000
1879.....	2,449,500
1880.....	2,730,500
1881.....	3,081,000
1882.....	3,668,000
1883.....	3,907,000
1884.....	4,411,000
1885.....	4,012,700
1886.....	3,681,000
1887.....	3,767,685
Total.....	\$46,276,547

The ores of Colorado, in addition to the metals which can be profitably extracted, viz.: Gold, silver, copper and lead, contain large quantities of zinc, antimony, arsenic, and in some cases bismuth, making the separation of silver and gold in a pure state, difficult and expensive. It was in solving this problem by the aid of the best methods known in Europe, supplemented by many important improvements and inventions of his own, that the knowledge and skill of Prof. Pearce proved to be of great value to the company.

That the investigations made by Professor Hill in 1865, and the resultant opening of new channels whereby the great corner stone of our subsequent prosperity was laid, was an event of supreme importance, no one who has acquainted himself with the facts will deny. Notwithstanding the enormous advantages that lay before him at the outset, the success of his enterprise is directly ascribable to the superior business management which supported his scientific attainments. Opportunities of equal value were presented to others, but for the want of proper direction their projects went down in disaster.

The first experiments for the smelting of ores in Colorado were made by Prof. Caleb S. Burdsall in Nevada District, Gilpin County, about the year 1862, but soon after demonstrating the feasibility of such treatment, the small furnace he had erected, was destroyed. He then came to Denver and continued his investigations until the facts sought were thoroughly developed.

In April, 1866, Messrs. John R. Beverley, J. J. Cranmer and Albert Gilbert conducted some experiments in the same direction, using the Kustel furnace, employed in the early days of mining on the Pacific slope, for reducing the Washoe silver ores. This plant was erected in Nevada district. The capacity of the furnace mentioned was equal to the reduction of about four tons in twenty-four hours, and was constructed of common red brick saturated in some kind of a chemical solution. The hearth, sixty by twenty-two inches, and the crucible, thirty-six inches in diameter, were made of clay and a mixture of fire-proof stone found in great abundance in the neighborhood. The results obtained have not been recorded, but no great success attended the effort.

The State movement was again revived at the December (1867) session of Congress with Chaffee, Chilcott and Hunt operating together harmoniously for the cause. At the very outset of his administration, Governor Hunt was confronted with an extensive Indian outbreak, and having no regular troops at command, he called on the militia, which did not respond. He then, as a *dernier resort*, invited a number of gentlemen to organize independent companies for the field, and also telegraphed General Sherman and the President for aid, but without effect. Sherman was then at Omaha, and shortly after came out to see what could be done. A number of volunteer companies reported for duty, but as they could not be equipped from the public ordnance stores, they were disbanded. On the 24th of June, General W. S. Hancock and staff arrived with an escort of about seventy men, for a visit simply, and with no intent of allaying the disturbances.

The political campaign of 1867 was rather uneventful. Hunt's confirmation by the Senate formed one of the issues. While the more conservative were disposed to give him a fair chance, the State leaders proved obdurate, pursuing him for past offences and, at the same time making his confirmation contingent upon the abandonment of his opposition to the State movement. Holding the cards, they were inclined to play them to his discomfiture, unless he should yield the main point at issue. For some time the Governor clung tenaciously to his heresy.

The State men carried the war into all caucuses and conventions, many of which were induced to pass resolutions opposing his confirmation. Others, and especially those held in the southern division of the Territory, strongly favored it. The outcome will appear in our notes of 1868.

In July and August, 1867, grasshoppers in countless myriads sailed over from the northeast and settling down upon the cultivated ranches, quickly destroyed the growing crops. This was the second visitation of these destructive hosts, the first occurring in 1864. No one who has not witnessed a great migration of these locusts, can form any conception of their numbers or the devastation which ensues. The whole atmosphere seems to be densely filled with them when on the wing, like a dark curtain spread over the face of the sun. When the air cools toward evening they descend to the earth, covering it as with a blanket. When they begin eating, everything which can be eaten disappears like grain before the reaper, with the difference that it is irrecoverable. But the most appalling feature is the deposit of eggs in the soil thus devastated, which are certain to reproduce other myriads of the pests in the spring, which, being unable to fly, begin eating as soon as they can walk. In the visitation of 1864 the ranchmen were entirely helpless, knowing not what to do, but in 1867 all manner of devices for their destruction were employed, some of which were very successful. One of these in the form of branches of trees dragged by horses over the ground, drove the insects into the irrigating canals, which had been impregnated by kerosene, dripping slowly from a barrel set at the head. This method proved one of the most effectual. Another was a sheet iron covered with soft coal tar, drawn by horses; the pests jumped into the mixture where they were hopelessly fastened, and subsequently destroyed by fire. The loss of crops in the years of these inflictions discouraged many farmers so that they either sold out, or incontinently abandoned their possessions. Such as remained were very destitute until fortune smiled upon them in later years.

September 18th, 1867, Mr. John W. Smith, at all times a vigorous leader in public enterprises, realizing the demand for better hotel

accommodations than were afforded by the primitive structures erected when the city was founded, having prepared all his plans, began the demolition of a number of small buildings which then occupied the site he had chosen, on the northeast corner of Sixteenth and Blake streets, and erected thereon the American Hotel, for many years, indeed until the English company came in and built the Windsor, the principal hostelry of the city. Increased patronage soon necessitated additions, which were built on Blake street.

Early in 1868 the Rocky Mountain Railway & Telegraph company was organized, to build a line from Denver to the coal beds of South Boulder, and thence to Black Hawk, Central and Georgetown, via Ralston Creek as surveyed by Mr. A. N. Rogers. Eben Smith of Central City, William L. Lee (of the Black Hawk Gold Mining company) J. W. Nesmith, A. G. Langford, J. W. Watson, Alex Steele, D. H. Moffat, Jr., J. S. Brown and Henry C. Leach were among the incorporators.

January 3d, 1868, resolutions were introduced in the lower House of the Colorado legislature, memorializing Congress to admit Colorado as a State, and requesting that the portion of Dakota lying south of the forty-second degree of north latitude and west of Nebraska, be annexed to and made a part of Colorado. The same Assembly enacted the first registration law for the better regulation of elections throughout the Territory. Through the persistent zeal of the member from Fremont County, Hon. Thomas Macon, combined with some rather skillful trading on the capitol and other questions of local importance, the Territorial Penitentiary was established at Cañon City. The commissioners appointed by the acting Governor to locate the grounds, were Hon. Anson Rudd of Fremont, and Samuel N. Hoyt and James M. Wilson of Arapahoe, who fixed the site now occupied by the prison.

At the close of the session January 11th, the Board of Trade honored the members with a banquet at the Pacific House. The President of the Council, or Senate, Hon. W. W. Webster, was on this occasion presented with a fine gold watch by the citizens of Denver,

and the House of Representatives presented its speaker, Hon. C. H. McLaughlin, with one of silver.

On New Year morning, 1868, a serious riot occurred in the town of Trinidad, Las Animas County. It appeared from the accounts subsequently gathered, that on Christmas preceding, a wrestling match of considerable interest had attracted a miscellaneous crowd of Mexicans and Americans, and in a dispute concerning the wrestlers, rocks were thrown and pistols fired. In the melee a Mexican was shot, and later died of the wound. An American named Blue was arrested for the offence and committed to jail, which was guarded by an equal number of Americans and Mexicans. Considerable excitement prevailed, and a brother of the man who had been killed, not content to let the law take its course, endeavored to kill the prisoner by shooting into the room where he was confined. While he was not successful in executing his purpose, two or three repetitions of the attempt created intense feeling which menaced the peace of the town. The military authorities at the nearest post,—Fort Reynolds,—were informed of the state of affairs, but took no action. A few days later Blue was liberated by a crowd of Americans, which so angered the Mexicans that they began firing at the rescuers, happily without damage. Naturally the fire was returned, resulting in a general street fight, in which guns and pistols were freely used. Being largely outnumbered, the Americans sought refuge in a neighboring building which they barricaded, firing an occasional shot from the windows. In the course of the proceedings two Mexicans were killed, and several wounded. A courier was dispatched to Fort Lyon, then commanded by Gen. W. H. Penrose, who sent a detachment of cavalry to the scene. Repeated calls were made on the Executive, for his personal aid, therefore on the 29th of January, the legislature having adjourned, the acting Governor, accompanied by W. R. Thomas of the Rocky Mountain "News," proceeded by coach to Trinidad, only to find that the troops had maintained peace among the inhabitants, and that the exercise of ordinary prudence by the civil authorities would prevent a recurrence of the difficulty. He then extended his

journey to Fort Lyon, with the view of requesting from the commandant a retention of the troops for a short time until the sheriff of the county and other officers could get the matter well under their control. It is sufficient to say that henceforward the races dwelt together in amity.

On the 12th of February, 1868, Senator Yates, of Illinois, introduced a bill for the admission of Colorado, with the fundamental condition as to the suffrage which had been made a part of the previous measures. Again, on June 16th, the attempt was renewed, the bill of that date requiring the resubmission of the question to the people within ninety days after its passage, also the election of a Legislature which must ratify the Fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. These conditions, together with that relating to suffrage, etc., complied with, the State and its representatives were to be admitted without further delay. Senators Evans and Chaffee approved the bill, and were prepared for the main issue, which was that all officers elected in 1865 should tender their resignations and the people proceed to an entire reorganization of the State machinery.

As a matter of fact, the results of the war and measures for the reconstruction of the Southern States had rendered the constitution of Colorado wholly obsolete, so far as it related to the great reforms of the period. Various attempts were made to patch it up and bring it into accord with the more advanced legislation by Congress, by amendment, but in every instance it proved a failure. And here the movement ended, no further steps of consequence being taken until 1875-6, when the main point was gained through the more friendly attitude of Gen. Grant.

On the 19th of July Senator Chaffee returned to Denver after a continuous absence since 1866, during which period he labored assiduously for the emancipation of his constituents from territorial dependence. Having deserved well of his party, he was to be henceforth its leader, and the director of its destiny.

On the 7th of May, 1868, the Denver & Santa Fé telegraph line

was begun under the supervision of Henry M. Porter. Poles were set in the streets and the wire passed to them from the Western Union office. Mr. Wm. N. Byers had been for some time engaged in distributing the poles along the route, so that when the work of construction began its advance was rapid. The line was completed and congratulatory messages exchanged between Denver and Santa Fé on the 8th of July following.

On the 21st of the month last named General Grant, who had been nominated for the Presidency, accompanied by Generals Sherman, Sheridan and Frederick T. Dent, arrived in Denver via the Smoky Hill route. The following day they took coach for Central City, Grant being seated on the box beside Billy Updike, one of the most famous reinsmen of the time. It is needless, perhaps, to add that the trip was heartily enjoyed. From Central they proceeded to Georgetown. After their return a reception was held in Masonic Hall, in the third story of the Tappan block, where great multitudes called to pay their respects to this renowned trio of military chieftains. At midnight the officers named, Mayor De Lano, the author, and two or three others were invited to a banquet at Ford's celebrated restaurant on Blake street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets. No toasts were offered nor speeches made, but General Sherman did a powerful amount of talking. As he was one of the most charming and instructive conversationalists of his time, the rest were more than content to listen.

On the 8th of August following, Hon. Schuyler Colfax, Republican nominee for the Vice-Presidency, accompanied by William D. Todd (now cashier of the Union bank), Hon. William Bross, Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois, Samuel Bowles and daughter, of Springfield, Mass., Mr. and Mrs. G. W. Matthews, daughter and niece, and Miss Nellie Wade, afterward Mrs. Colfax, arrived by coach from Cheyenne. They had been present at the interesting ceremony of laying the last rail on the Atlantic slope of the Union Pacific railway at Creston Station. Mr. Colfax addressed a mass meeting in Denver

on the night of August 11th on the political issues of the day,—ex-Governor William Gilpin presiding. A few days later the party visited Central City and Georgetown, then the great mining centers to which all visitors to the Territory made pilgrimages.

By the same coach with the Colfax party came George M. Chilcott, delegate to Congress, returning from a session in which he had been extremely active in securing material benefits for his constituents in the way of useful legislation. It was said of him in Washington, that through his geniality of manner and quiet but persistent force, he rendered more efficient service in the position he held than any other delegate from the West, wielding an influence well nigh equal to that exerted by the average representatives of organized States. He procured the repeal of a very obnoxious postal law, which discriminated severely against all the remote Territories through prohibitory rates of postage, thereby practically cutting them off from the privileges in the way of printed matter enjoyed by all the States; an appropriation to liquidate all properly audited and approved claims accruing from the services of the Territorial militia during the recent Indian outbreaks; appropriations, also, for continuing the public surveys; appropriations for the branch mint, despite the almost malignant opposition of the Secretary of the Treasury, who had resolved to reduce it to a mere nullity, or abolish it altogether; the establishment of land offices in the mining districts; an appropriation for a geological survey of Colorado by Prof. F. V. Hayden, whose reports proved of inestimable value to the people, and are to this day the standard authority, consulted and followed by thousands of miners and prospectors, and which more, perhaps, than any other influence, has led to the discovery and development of the richest treasures theretofore hidden in the mountains; the opening of new mail routes, besides rendering material assistance to the passage of the railway bills, whereby the Denver Pacific and Kansas Pacific companies were enabled to complete their respective roads. In addition, he procured the appointment of well known citizens of Colorado to the important

offices, which broke up the old system of sending out from the east broken mendicants to fill them. Mr. Chilcott's record in Congress reflected credit upon the Territory, elevated him to a still higher place in the esteem of his fellow men, and was, in connection with his many admirable qualities, the controlling influence in his appointment by Governor Pitkin many years afterward as a Senator to succeed Hon. Henry M. Teller, who had been called into the cabinet by President Arthur.

On the 22d of August, 1868, Mr. Colfax and friends left Denver for a tour of the mountains via Turkey Creek Cañon, the South Park and the Arkansas River, in the vicinity of California Gulch. The cavalcade consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Matthews (since deceased), Miss Sallie Bowles (now Mrs. Hooker), Miss Nellie Wade (induced upon this excursion to become Mrs. Colfax), Miss Carrie Matthews (now Mrs. O. J. Hollister of Salt Lake City), Miss Sue M. Matthews (now Mrs. Frank Hall of Denver), Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Witter, Mr. and Mrs. Hiram Witter, Governor and Mrs. A. C. Hunt, W. D. Todd, E. G. Matthews, Major D. C. Oakes, O. J. Hollister and Secretary Hall. Governor Bross and Mr. Bowles had preceded them by a day or two, but rejoined them in the South Park.

On the date last mentioned, the Arapahoe and Cheyenne Indians, with whom and the Kiowas and the Comanches a treaty had been negotiated by the peace commissioners in the fall of 1867 at Medicine Lodge, seventy miles south of Fort Larned, whereby their lands between the Arkansas and Platte had been relinquished, the Indians being required to locate on reservations provided for them in Indian Territory, began a general assault upon the borders of Colorado. While the chiefs signed the treaty, the young braves almost unanimously repudiated the act, refusing to be bound by its provisions. The discontent grew hot and bitter, until in the spring of 1868 a general uprising was threatened. General Sheridan took command of the department in March, 1868. The Indians were concentrated about Fort Dodge, uneasy and clamorous for the arms and ammunition, clothing, etc., etc., that had been

promised by the peace commission. Various means were employed to keep them quiet, but finding that nothing else would satisfy their demands, the arms were issued. In July the encampment about Dodge broke up, and the Indians disappeared, being next heard of on the war path raiding the settlements of Western Kansas. Bill Comstock (Wild Bill), who with a companion named Grover had been sent out as mediators to the Indians, was killed, and Grover severely wounded. Then ensued a series of attacks on the Smoky Hill stage route, and in a short time the war became general, the savages having about six thousand warriors in the field. Sheridan transferred his headquarters to Fort Hays, then the terminus of the Kansas Pacific or Eastern Division railroad. All the available forces at his command, consisting of about twelve hundred mounted men and fourteen hundred infantry were widely scattered, and much time was consumed in concentrating them for active movement. He decided, therefore, upon a winter campaign to strike the hostiles in their encampments, and employed Buffalo Bill (W. F. Cody), to discover their principal haunts. Being driven southward into our Territory, the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, well armed, clothed, mounted and furnished with letters from the peace commission certifying their friendly character with complete absolution for past offences, came down *en masse*, and striking the settled borders of Colorado separated into detachments, distributing themselves along the line from about Fort Wallace to Colorado City. Being extremely affable at the outset, giving no offense until they had fully insinuated themselves into the confidence of the people, they penetrated to every hamlet and ranch where fine horses and other stock were kept, taking careful inventory of the same for future use.

On my return from the mountains on the 23d of August, having left the Colfax party near the head of Turkey Creek Cañon, the telegraph wires began to pour in appeals for assistance, the dispatches stating that the Indians had attacked, evidently at a preconcerted signal, all along the border, and were burning ranches, killing people and driving off stock. The death of Comstock was announced; also that a number

of men had been slain, scalped and mutilated at various other points, settlers' cabins robbed and destroyed, and their occupants horribly massacred. On the Bijou several were killed and their stock and other movable property appropriated. A veritable reign of terror had been inaugurated by these very friendly savages. Messengers came thick and fast from the frontier, while the wires and mails were burdened with supplications for aid. The savages had made a clean sweep of the Kiowa and Bijou. A large band of Arapahoes swarmed about Colorado City, taking everything they could find that could be moved and of use to them. A man named Teachout lost a large herd of valuable horses, about one hundred and twenty, as near as I can recall the circumstance.

Being advised that this band had gone to the South Park via Ute Pass, on a foray against their hereditary enemies the Utes, and fearing that the Colfax tourists might be discovered and attacked, I dispatched a runner named Bonser who had lived some time among these Indians to warn them, giving him letters to Governor Hunt, stating the material points of the outbreak, and my apprehension that the Arapahoes were on their trail. The messenger overtook the party in camp near the western boundary of the park, and delivered his dispatches, but to achieve some personal glory for himself, fabricated an account of his having encountered the hostiles en route, and been fired upon by them, but that he escaped without further harm than a bullet hole through his saddle, which he exhibited, though it turned out that he had not seen an Indian on the way, but had found a bottle of whisky, the most of which had entered his person, and was then taking effect. A party of Utes being near at hand was sent for, and informed of the expected attack from the Arapahoes. They immediately offered to attend the party and protect them from all harm, which escort was gladly accepted.

The Arapahoes soon after entering the park, surprised a small encampment of Utes, and took several scalps. Satisfied with this result they returned to Colorado City. Meanwhile I had put forth every endeavor for relief. Utterly without troops, the territorial treasury empty, shorn of power to call out the militia because of the frequency of

previous demands and the unsatisfactory issues attending the same, with only a few arms and no ammunition at all in the city arsenal, there seemed no way out of the difficulty unless General Sheridan could send Federal troops to our assistance. This officer had reported to General Sherman that the Indians had broken loose again in Western Kansas, and the outrages committed by them were too horrible for description. Orders were immediately sent him to pursue the savages and drive them from that part of the country, but Sheridan's force was small and so widely scattered it was impossible for him to go into the field with an adequate number of men until they could be concentrated and moved, upon a well digested plan of campaign.

On the evening of the 28th of August, a wagon was driven into the city bearing the mutilated remains of Mrs. Henrietta Dieterman and her boy about five years of age, who had been killed the day before by Indians on Comanche Creek. The boy had been shot several times and his neck broken. The mother had been shot through the body, her person violated, stabbed and scalped. This was one of the most horrible spectacles I ever witnessed. The remains were exhibited to the public, exciting fierce indignation. The streets of Denver were filled with people crying for vengeance upon the inhuman monsters. At the corner of Fifteenth and Larimer streets a dense mass had congregated, and was addressed by General Sam. E. Brown, in a spirit born of the occasion, intemperate and well calculated to inflame the worst passions of the multitude it is true, yet in some degree warranted by the frightful scene just witnessed, and the prevalent alarm. In the meantime I was at the Western Union Telegraph office endeavoring to discover the whereabouts of Generals Sherman and Sheridan, and when found communicating the facts, with appeals for help. On reaching the assemblage on Larimer street, I was seized by two or three men, lifted into an express wagon standing in the center which had been used as a rostrum by General Brown, and invited to explain, first what had been done, and secondly how the conflict could be met. After stating my efforts to secure aid from the military authorities but without any immediate pros-

pect of receiving it, volunteers to the number of fifty resolute men who were willing to proceed at once to the field, were called for. A general response succeeding, the crowd, by request, adjourned to my office in the Tappan block, where a few minutes later the requisite number had been enrolled and placed under command of Major Jacob Downing, a commander of large experience, and of unquestioned courage. The next difficulty was to provide horses, equipments and transportation, for it was then midnight. Mr. John Hughes fortunately supplied the horses from a large herd owned by him, and located near the city limits. Men were sent out to bring them in. Messrs. Gallup and Gallatin furnished the saddles and bridles, and the larger merchants the commissary stores. In the territorial armory there were sufficient carbines for the men, which, though long out of date, would answer for the emergency. Mr. Rufus Clark, then widely known as "Potato Clark" agreed to furnish the transportation. After straggling about in the dark for some time the horses were corraled, the saddles and bridles fitted to them as rapidly as possible, and at three o'clock in the morning Major Downing moved out of the city in the direction of the Bijou. M. H. Slater had been chosen First Lieutenant and George Bancroft Second Lieutenant. Though the command failed to discover or punish the Indians, its presence relieved the settlers from present apprehension, and that was about the extent of it.

Meanwhile General Sheridan had telegraphed me to call on Forts Reynolds, Hays or Wallace for troops, but it was found that neither post could furnish them. I asked General Sherman for one thousand rifles with accoutrements and munitions, and he ordered them sent from Fort Leavenworth. As it would take about thirty days to get them here, and the necessity for immediate action being urgent, I called for volunteers to carry a message to the officer in command at Fort Wallace, that being the only post on the frontier from which assistance could be hoped for. Theron W. Johnson and a companion whose name I have forgotten, were selected for this rather perilous enterprise. They were compelled to run the gauntlet of the Indians on the border, and great

courage, tempered by wise judgment, was required to render the mission successful. Mounted on swift horses they left Denver at night, and while in the Indian country secreted themselves by day, traveling only in the dark hours. They reached Fort Wallace in due time and delivered my dispatches to the officer in charge. It was found that he was nearly or quite as helpless as the commandants at Reynolds and Hays. At length Col. George A. Forsythe, who was present, said he had about fifty scouts, with which force, though small, he thought he could penetrate the lines and get through to the Colorado border. Receiving permission from Colonel Bankhead, he moved out of the post, proceeding in the direction of the Republican River. Capt. Graham with about the same number left almost simultaneously for Kiowa and the head of the Beaver, the two commands arranging to unite in the Bijou and co-operate with such forces as I might have in the field. Graham encountered a large force of Indians, who captured some of his horses. Forsythe left Fort Wallace on the 10th of September with forty-seven men, carrying ten days' rations, and headed north, following the Indian trail. While encamped on the Arickaree branch of the Republican a small band of Indians made a sudden rush for his horses, but were driven off to the main body, about seven hundred strong, near at hand. The whole mass of savages then attacked Forsythe, who, finding himself about to be overpowered, retreated to a small island in the Arickaree, where the Indians immediately surrounded him. The devoted little band dug rifle pits, from which they met and repelled a number of furious charges, but the Indians succeeded in killing all their animals, and finding they could not dislodge the soldiers, laid siege to their defenses.

While encouraging and directing his men, Forsythe was severely wounded, and soon after his lieutenant, Beecher, was killed. The surgeon, Dr. Mooers, while dressing Forsythe's wound, was himself shot and mortally wounded. Twenty-one out of the forty-seven scouts were killed, yet the survivors continued the fight, resolved to perish to the last man rather than surrender. Thus they fought off their assailants

for three days, when the Indians began to withdraw. Meanwhile, two intrepid volunteers crawled by night through the lines of the besiegers and made their way to Fort Wallace, whence Col. Bankhead proceeded with such men as he could muster to Forsythe's relief. Sheridan telegraphed me of the ordered movements of several columns of troops which had been hastily organized and pushed to the scene of disturbance. Fifteen companies were then marching toward the Colorado border. General Sully's command was still south of the Arkansas, but he had met the Indians, killed seventeen, and wounded a large number. His dispatch concluded in these words: "I am exceedingly sorry to have been unable to relieve the distress on your frontier, but the fact of the case is I have my hands full."

In Larimer county, on the 24th of August, a small band stampeded the herd of Mr. John Brush, driving off all the horses, twenty-four in number, and killing four head of cattle. Some of them dashed upon William Brush and two of his men, killing all of them. Each was shot three times, and, in addition, tomahawked and scalped. Horses were stolen from other residents in the neighborhood. About dusk on the 27th a party of sixty-four settlers, under the lead of Mr. D. B. Bailey, started in pursuit of the marauders, coming up with them at sunrise on the morning of the 28th within ten miles of a small settlement called Latham. The Indians discovering them, hastily mounted and began circling around them after their usual form of attack, but were soon driven off, retreating toward the Kiowa.

On the 4th of September the Governor and the Colfax party returned from the mountains, under the escort of a band of Ute Indians. The next day a council was held in the Secretary's office, where the Indian outbreak was fully canvassed. Mr. Colfax was asked to lend his powerful influence toward securing military aid, whereupon he telegraphed General Schofield, Secretary of War, an epitome of the condition of affairs on this frontier and requested him to send a strong force of cavalry with orders to use it for the protection of isolated settlers. Copies were sent to Sherman and Sher-

idan, but the latter had already ordered such troops as were immediately available to the points most seriously endangered. In due time peace was restored by driving the Indians out of the country, and keeping up the pursuit until they could fight no longer, ending with Custer's terrible decimation of the Cheyennes under Black Kettle on the Washita.

On the 29th of October Capt. D. I. Ezeikel of the Thirty-eighth U. S. infantry, and Lieut. Whitten of the Fifth infantry, arrived in Denver with a train of guns and ammunition which had been sent by order of General Schofield, for use in arming the citizens. They had nineteen wagons and a guard of thirty men.

As a fitting close to this chapter, the following brief resumé of General Sheridan's report of Custer's attack, which wound up the power of the Cheyennes, is given, since it is really the sequel to the battle of Sand Creek and the events just narrated. He says, "On the 23d of November, 1868, I ordered Custer to proceed with eleven companies of his regiment, the Seventh cavalry, in a southerly direction toward Antelope Hills, in search of hostile Indians. On the 26th he struck the trail of a war party of Black Kettle's band returning from the north, near where the eastern line of the Panhandle of Texas crosses the main Canadian. He at once corraled his wagons and followed in pursuit over to the head waters of the Washita, and thence down that stream, and on the morning of the 27th surprised the camp of Black Kettle, and, after a desperate fight, in which Black Kettle was assisted by the Arapahoes under Little Raven, and the Kiowas under Satanta, captured the entire camp, killing the chief, Black Kettle, and one hundred and two warriors whose bodies were left on the field. All their stock, ammunition, arms, lodges, robes and fifty-three women and children were taken. Our loss was Major Elliott, Capt. Hamilton, and nineteen enlisted men killed, and three officers and eleven enlisted men wounded. Little Raven's band of Arapahoes and Satanta's band of Kiowas were encamped six miles below Black Kettle's camp.

“The highest credit is due to Gen. Custer and his command. They started in a furious snow storm and traveled all the while in snow about twelve inches deep. The families of Black Kettle and Little Raven were among the prisoners. If we can get one or two more good blows there will be no more Indian troubles in my department. One white woman and a boy ten years old were brutally murdered by the Indians when the attack commenced.”

CHAPTER XXVII

1868-1871—ARRIVAL OF ROSCOE CONKLING, PROFESSOR AGASSIZ, SECRETARY WM. H. SEWARD, GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD, AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED MEN—AGASSIZ'S OPINION OF COLORADO—RESIGNATION OF SENATORS EVANS AND CHAFFEE—GAS WORKS ESTABLISHED—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRADE—PROGRESS OF THE COLORADO CENTRAL—ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH SMELTING WORKS—GOVERNOR HUNT SUPERSEDED BY GEN. M'COOK—HAYDEN'S GEOLOGICAL SURVEY—THE ROBBING OF ORSON BROOKS—PURSUIT AND CAPTURE OF THE OUTLAWS—FRANKLIN KILLED, DOUGAN LYNCHED—A GHASTLY SPECTER BY MOONLIGHT—THE LYNCHING OF MUSGROVE BY DENVER VIGILANTES—DEVELOPMENT OF BOULDER, CLEAR CREEK, PUEBLO AND CANON CITY—FOUNDING OF IRON WORKS—THE AUTHOR DINES WITH ANSON RUDD—PIONEER COURTS—DEALINGS WITH THIEVES—AUNT CLARA BROWN—CHRISTENING THE GARDEN OF THE GODS—TRADITIONS OF MANITOU.

On the 6th of September, 1868, Honorables Roscoe Conkling and Samuel Hooper, a member of Congress from Boston, Professor Louis Agassiz of Cambridge, General W. B. Hazen and Gen. Wm. J. Palmer, escorted by General Sherman and staff with a detachment of troops, arrived in Denver and were quartered at the Planter's House. The eminent geologist, Prof. Agassiz, visited the mountains, proceeding along the valley of Clear Creek, and was reported to have said that he found this region to be one of the most interesting geological studies that he had ever witnessed, and that as soon as his present labors were concluded, he intended to revisit Colorado and make an extended examination of the plains and mountains. Unhappily for us and for science, his life was terminated before the labors in which he had long been engaged were concluded.

On the 25th of the same month, Senators elect Evans and Chaffee

published a card, resigning their positions under the State organization to enable the people to take up the main question free from all personal considerations. The bill to admit the State of Colorado under certain conditions, was then pending before Congress. If the people should express a desire for the State in unmistakable terms, the bill would probably become a law at the next ensuing session. They pledged themselves to co-operate with the people in any way that might be deemed expedient. As no action was taken, the matter rested without further agitation for a term of seven years.

Col. Heine, who accompanied Commissioner Whitney from the Paris Exposition as previously mentioned, returned here in the fall of 1868, and having secured the promise of a considerable amount of French capital for investment, about the middle of October, having applied for a charter from the city, declared his readiness to invest one hundred thousand dollars in the manufacture of illuminating gas for Denver, and to lay five miles of pipe within six months from the time the charter should be accorded him. A meeting of citizens was called on the 19th of October, at which the Colonel stated that he had abundant capital with which to proceed, and desired to know how much gas would be required to accommodate the city. When this should be ascertained, he would go East and purchase the requisite machinery. A committee was appointed by the meeting to collect the essential data. Heine secured a charter to build a tramway to the Erie coal fields, and purchased a site for his gas works, coal yards, etc., but the whole enterprise failed. The party from whom he expected to procure the funds disappointed him by investing them in Union Pacific securities.

November 1st, 1869, Colonel James Archer submitted a proposition for the erection of gas works, and meeting with suitable encouragement organized his company on the 13th following, with whom the city council entered into a contract for lighting the city, Archer agreeing to have the plant ready and pipes distributed by January 1st, 1871, and fixing the maximum price to consumers at five dollars per thousand feet.

The foundations of this enterprise were begun on the 3d, and pipe laying in the streets on the 20th of September, 1870, the mains aggregating a mile and three-quarters in length. Though the buildings were completed and all appliances put in order about the close of that year, owing to some mishaps and the difficulty of manufacturing gas from the rather inferior coals first used, the promised illumination did not occur until the beginning of February, 1871.

The first annual meeting of the Board of Trade was held January 14th, 1869, when William M. Clayton was made President, W. S. Cheesman and D. J. Martin respectively first and second Vice-Presidents, R. W. Woodbury Secretary, and Frank Palmer Treasurer. John W. Smith, F. M. Case, George W. Kassler, Daniel Witter, George Tritch, William N. Byers, F. Z. Salomon, and J. S. Brown were chosen directors for the ensuing year. By this time the efficiency of this organization had become thoroughly established, and its influence upon the chief purpose for the attainment of which its members were associated, very potential. But its good offices were not confined wholly to the advancement of the Denver Pacific enterprise. It extended to matters pertaining to good municipal government, and the orderly conduct of public affairs in every department.

At the annual meeting of the Colorado Central & Pacific railroad company held on the 11th of January, 1869, Messrs. John Duff, J. G. Tappan, T. J. Carter, J. B. Taft, A. Lambert, and F. G. Dexter of the Union Pacific, and Henry M. Teller, Truman Whitcomb and E. K. Baxter of Gilpin County, John Turk of Clear Creek, and W. A. H. Loveland of Jefferson County, were elected directors.

Mr. Carter made a report of the material progress attained during the previous year. In July, 1868, contracts had been made for the grading and masonry upon six miles of the most difficult part of the line, which had been completed. In November the other portions of the line were put under contract, and would be completed early the next season. The county of Jefferson, had voted one hundred thousand dollars in bonds, the cash proceeds of which had been applied to the construction.

Thus far the company had expended eighty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-five dollars.

In February, 1869, John W. Smith proposed to secure a charter for the Denver Smelting & Refining Works,—to be established with a capital of fifty thousand dollars, and to deed the company certain property in West Denver upon certain conditions, which it is only necessary to say were never complied with. Some time afterward, Charles Hallack and associates instituted a new scheme to the same end, but, like its predecessor, it came to naught.

On the 15th of April in the same year, Governor Hunt, who had devoted the greater part of his brief administration to the peaceful settlement of all issues between the government, the people and the Ute Indians, and which, had he been permitted to continue would have resulted in lasting benefit, was suddenly removed, and General Edward M. McCook appointed his successor. Congress had been induced to make liberal appropriations for settling the Utes upon the new reservations set apart for them, providing them with horses and cattle; sawmills whereby comfortable dwellings might be built for them, with barns and sheds for their stock, and with the better implements of modern agriculture. The greater part, if not the entire project, had been planned by Hunt. Being assured of the passage of the appropriations, and that his position as Governor would not be disturbed, he had gone to Chicago, and when the intelligence of his removal reached him, was engaged in contracting for the machinery and implements provided for in the bill. Mr. Hall had been reappointed by President Grant very soon after the new administration took control. McCook came first to Colorado in 1859, and engaged in the practice of law. In the fall of 1860 he was elected to the Kansas legislature, and from there entered the army soon after the outbreak of the Rebellion, where by gallant service he rose to the brevet rank of Major General. At the close of the war he was appointed minister resident at Honolulu in the Sandwich Islands. In the fall of 1868, tiring of the distinguished (?) honor, he resigned, and returning to Washington began to look about for a more desirable

place. Strongly inclined to return to Colorado, but not as a private citizen, he investigated Mr. Hunt's tenure, and finding it vulnerable brought every influence to bear upon President Grant for the place. While favorably impressed with Governor Hunt, and unwilling to supersede him, the President was nevertheless induced to yield to an old comrade in arms, and so made the change.

The statement that General McCook was stimulated to extraordinary effort in this case by the appropriations to be expended under the superintendency of Indian affairs in this department, is fully justified by the facts. He saw an opportunity to exercise great influence, and probably for the acquisition of material advantages through the large sum of money that would be placed at his disposal. He arrived in Denver on the 11th of June. After a short conference in my office, we drove out to call upon ex-Governor Hunt who had gone into retirement, deeply wounded by his summary and wholly unwarranted official decapitation. A friendly consultation was held in which it was arranged that as Hunt had virtually secured the appropriations, he would be permitted to carry out his plan for their expenditure under the direction of the Governor-elect. In this, as will appear at the proper time, he was the victim of still deeper treachery.

On the 17th of June, Secretary William H. Seward with a party of friends comprising his son Frederick and wife, Mr. and Mrs. Chas. L. Wilson of the "Chicago Evening Journal," Mrs. Farrar, mother of Mrs. Wilson, Abijah Fitch of Auburn, New York, and Colonel Emory of the Ninth U. S. Infantry, arrived in Denver. A reception occurred at the American House the same evening. On the 18th they took carriages for Central City and Idaho Springs, and were accompanied by Governor McCook and myself. After a short stay in this region the party returned to the East.

Early in July, Dr. F. V. Hayden, chief of the U. S. Geological survey, arrived with his corps of assistants for the purpose of making a preliminary examination of the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains from Cheyenne to Santa Fé, giving careful attention to the mineral

and coal resources. He devoted a part of the season to investigations along the line of the Union Pacific railroad, collecting several tons of specimens of coal, fossils, samples of rock, minerals and ores. The result of his examination of the Marshall coal mine near Boulder, with analysis of the product, appeared in his report published in 1876. Accompanied by ex-Governor Gilpin, he visited the San Luis Park. He inspected with infinite care and zeal the mining regions about Central, Black Hawk and Georgetown. His report exerted much influence toward strengthening the faith of our people in the resources of the country, and especially in the permanency of the mines.

On the 15th of July General J. M. Schofield and staff arrived, and following the general course of tourists, made the pilgrimage of the mountains.

November 20th, 1868, Mr. Orson Brooks, a venerable and highly respected citizen, while en route to his home in the suburbs just after dark, was attacked by footpads in the then unlighted and lonely quarter near the corner of Sixteenth and Lawrence streets, "held up" and robbed of about one hundred and twenty-five dollars. This bold assault following upon two or three others of like nature, aroused the police under City Marshal D. J. Cook to vigorous pursuit of the nocturnal outlaws. With U. S. Deputy Marshal Haskell, he discovered the trail and quickly followed the robbers to Golden City, where they were discovered to be two old and notorious criminals, Ed Franklin and Sam Dougan, who, after a rapid career in this region had emigrated to, and for some time were engaged in nefarious operations in the different towns on the Pacific railroad west of Cheyenne. Having been driven out of Laramie by threats of lynching, they reappeared in their old haunts, and being destitute of funds attacked Mr. Brooks with the result stated, leaving at once for Golden City in the hope of escaping the officers of the law. Cook and his assistant followed. On their arrival it was found that Dougan and Franklin had spent the intervening time in drinking and rioting, and that the latter, being thoroughly stupefied by frequent potations, had retired to bed in the Overland house. But they found Dougan

in a saloon, who, as soon as he recognized the officers, cursed and defied them, and at the same time fired at them with his revolver. They immediately returned the fire, when he fled through a back door and escaped in the darkness. In the melee the barkeeper was shot and severely wounded. Dougan having eluded his search, Cook next turned his attention to securing Franklin, dead or alive, as the circumstances should warrant. Proceeding to his room, Cook with a cocked revolver in his hand, awakened the sleeper. Franklin realizing the danger, sprang instantly for his revolver, resisting all attempts at capture. Cook knowing the desperate character of the man, and that extreme measures would be justified, fired and killed him. The body, encased in a rough box, was brought to Denver and buried.

Dougan was followed the next day, and finally captured at a point between Greeley and Cheyenne, brought back and lodged in jail. Shortly afterward a temporary vigilance committee was organized. Cook deeming the Larimer street prison insecure, on the evening of December 1st concluded to remove Dougan to the city calaboose in West Denver, which was a much stronger building, and from which his desperate prisoner would be less liable to escape. Some of the vigilantes discovering his purpose, secreted themselves beneath the Larimer street bridge, and when Cook appeared with Dougan, they forcibly seized the prisoner, taking him to a cottonwood tree on Cherry street between Fourth and Fifth, where preparations for execution were speedily made. Having adjusted the noose about his neck, the prisoner was given a chance to speak or pray as he chose, but he was ordered to be quick about it. Unaccustomed to prayer, he spent the time in confession and pitiful appeals for mercy. He acknowledged having killed a man named Curtis, a quartz hauler in Black Hawk, in January, 1865, a fact well known to most of his executioners, but denied several other murders imputed to him. As to the robbery of Mr. Brooks, he first denied all participation in that offense, but subsequently admitted it. He had been a pretty tough citizen, but did not deserve such a death as was about to be visited

upon him. The crowd about him becoming impatient, ordered the wagon in which he stood drawn from under him, when the soul of Sam Dougan, the outlaw, sped to its Maker. He was only twenty-three years of age; had been a teamster in Black Hawk and Central for some time. After the killing of Curtis he was confined in the jail at Central, but the law's long delay in bringing him to trial at length opened the way for his escape, when he went to Laramie City, Wyoming, only to fall in with associates more evil minded than himself.

The body remained where the vigilantes left it, swinging in the moonlight, and casting its ghastly shadow upon the ground through the night and until 10 o'clock next morning, when it was cut down and buried. Then the residents of the neighborhood, to prevent the enactment of further scenes of like revolting nature, brought out their axes and removed the tree.

Some time prior to the events mentioned, a notorious desperado and stock thief named Musgrove, after long pursuit had been captured and lodged in the Larimer street prison. The day after the execution of Dougan, a vigilance committee formed on Blake or Holladay street, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and in orderly procession marched to the prison and demanded the person of Musgrove. When the door opened to admit the leaders, the prisoner suspecting their purpose, seized a billet of wood and stood at bay, defying them to take him. Revolvers were drawn and several shots fired at him, but owing to the excitement, none took effect. After a sharp struggle he was overpowered and taken to the Larimer street bridge over Cherry creek, where preparations had been made for the lynching. Realizing his doom, he resolved to meet it bravely. His request to be permitted to write a hasty note to a friend was granted. The message, written in pencil on the railing, was soon finished, when he was put into a wagon and driven into the bed of the creek under the bridge, from one of the floor timbers of which dangled a noosed rope. Here he was bound, hands and feet, and the noose adjusted about his

neck, when the order was given to drive the wagon from under him. To make death certain and immediate, Musgrove sprang into the air, and when he fell his neck was dislocated, and his death comparatively painless.

The leader of the vigilantes then addressed the assemblage briefly, saying there were a dozen or more other ruffians in the town, some of whom were well known to the committee. They were thereby warned to absent themselves within twenty-four hours, or the penalty just witnessed would be visited upon them also.

"Musgrove was an outlaw," says the "News" of that date, "who had made society his prey for several years, successively defying by boldness, when he could not outwit by cunning, the officers of justice. He was driven as a bandit from California, Nevada and Utah, and first appeared in Colorado in the role of a murderer at Fort Halleck in 1863. For this he was arrested and sent to Denver, where he was discharged by the United States commissioner for want of jurisdiction. Taking up his residence on Clear Creek at Baker's bridge, he soon became the recognized chief of a band of land pirates, who lived by running off government stock, effacing the brands and then disposing of it. His retreat, when pressed too closely by officers of the law, was at the head of the Cache la Poudre, in an almost inaccessible natural rock fortress. Here Officer Haskell, unarmed and unattended, was allowed to visit him.

"The charge which exasperated the people was that of his having been the leader of one of the bands of Indians which ravaged our settlements last fall. As he was taken from the jail he said, 'I suppose you are going to hang me because I've been an Indian chief.' Deprecate the course as we will the fact remains, that the people resorted to violence because the criminal laws did not afford the protection which the people had a right to demand of them."

While the better sentiment of the community abhorred the dreadful spectacles, it is true nevertheless, that the summary execution of justice in the two cases described had a salutary and enduring effect.

The desperate class, warned by the example made of their comrades disappeared, and there was no more orderly community on the frontier than Denver for the succeeding two years. We admit the appalling nature of such transactions, but in the cases noted they were in some degree warranted by the reasons stated. Men argued then, and they are contending to-day all over the land with acknowledged force, that the method of practice in the criminal courts, obstructs rather than advances the cause of justice, shields rather than punishes offenders who possess the means to purchase immunity, and too frequently turns them loose to work their further will upon the citizens whom they have already too far outraged. They feel that a large proportion of the taxes paid are for the enforcement of laws which are not enforced, or if executed at all, upon a class which can make only feeble resistance. Argue as we may for the preservation of law and order, many of us realize but too keenly that the law is less potential in the maintenance of order than the loyalty of the citizen who abhors disorder. In the early times as they are called, the people endured many atrocities with reasonable patience, but when some especially heinous assault was made upon their rights, their wrath exceeded all bounds and instantly rendered a judgment from which there was neither escape nor appeal. There is not an instance upon our records where an innocent person, nor one whose guilt was not clearly established, suffered injury at their hands.

Let us now take a retrospective view of the developments in other quarters of the Territory where fixed settlements were made and maintained, and which to-day comprise the chief centers of population and permanent industry. It may be stated in this connection however, that outside of Denver—which by reason of its position as the chief trading post, the recognized seat of government, and the political influence concentrated here, acquired a prominence not equaled by any other point, and was approached only by Central City during the period of its greatest renown,—progress was in no case continuous, though many enjoyed spasmodic outbursts in which feverish excitement prevailed for

a year or so, when all things were reduced to the common level of legitimate industry and commerce. To make the point aimed at more clear, there were towns to which many thousands rushed in a frantic impulse to gather the first fruits of what promised to be an abundant harvest, whose resources were only sufficient to maintain a few hundreds. The overplus being merely speculative was compelled to emigrate. It is but a repetition of the history of mining countries the world over, and is too well understood to need further explanation.

In the agricultural sections the settlers struggled with new and adverse conditions, first to gain a substantial foothold, and then to maintain it. Except upon narrow strips of rich bottom land, bordering the streams, little could be accomplished without irrigation, and this, to begin with, was not understood; and secondly involved the expenditure of capital which the pioneers did not possess. In Boulder County where the settlers were divided between mining and agriculture, and mutually dependent upon each other, the experiment of husbandry developed early. The miners needed vegetables, and the farmer the gold taken from the hills. Neither class knew how to meet the problems which confronted it after the experimental stage had been passed, and so both groped on in comparative darkness, until by steady perseverance in well doing the problem reached its solution.

The abundant yields of the placer mines, especially in Gold Run, Gambell's Gulch and a few other points, together with gains derived from the outcroppings of several noted lodes or quartz veins, lent a powerful stimulus to the infant colony established at the base of the mountains. The site was beautiful, the surrounding country both rich and inviting. In addition, much of it was underlaid with coal, from which Denver drew a part of its supply. Prof. F. V. Hayden said of them in his first report: "Nowhere in the world is there such a vast development of the recent coal measures, and in few places is their existence more necessary to the advancement and improvement of the region in which they occur." Amos Bixby informs us that three brothers named Wellman were the first in that county, if not the first

in Colorado to plow land, plant seed and sow wheat. They possessed a claim, or ranch, of excellent land on Boulder Creek two and a half miles from the base of the mountains.

The town was organized February 10th, 1859. There were fifty shareholders in the company, and the site embraced twelve hundred and forty acres. These pioneers, like their contemporaries of Auraria, expected to build a great city, and therefore gave it room to spread. During the first year about seventy log houses were built. The first schoolhouse in the Territory had its birthplace among these thrifty people. Lumber mills there were none until 1860, when Mr. A. J. Mackey secured boards enough from one located in the mountains to build quite a pretentious residence for his family.

In 1860 Messrs. Fraser & Scoville established a foundry and machine shop on half a block of ground which had been presented to them by A. C. Hunt, on the west side of Larimer street, Denver, near the present terminus of the street car track, and manufactured the various kinds of ironwork required in those days. In December of that year the works were purchased by Joseph M. Marshall. The raw material for castings was obtained by breaking up and melting useless machinery brought here for various purposes, to which it was either not adapted, or for which there was no demand. In August, 1861, Mr. Marshall began exploring the coal fields of Erie, Boulder County, for fire clay, finding the best connected with the immense coal outcrop of what is now the Marshall mine. While digging for clay he discovered an excellent quality of brown hematite iron ore. Samples were brought to Denver with the fire clay, and tested in a blacksmith's forge. The results being highly favorable, in 1863 a small experimental cold blast furnace was built near the Marshall mine, in which when completed, a very thorough test of the iron ores thereabouts was made. The furnace did not operate satisfactorily; the hearths melted, and the concern collapsed. In 1865 it was reconstructed with hearths calculated to endure the heat. During the succeeding three months it produced about two hundred tons of fine pig iron, and here the experiment ended.

There were very few historic incidents in the period between 1859 and 1870. Indeed, the greater part of the history of the Territory, and of the State, except such as we have related, lies in the last half of the second and in the third decades of time, and our chief purpose in reviewing the exterior fields at this stage is to preserve the record of such shreds of information as were developed, whereby we shall be enabled in the second volume to exhibit the marvelous contrast effected by the new epochs then to be considered.

Rev. Jacob Adriance, one of the advance missionaries of Denver, extended his good offices to Boulder in 1860. The Congregationalists erected the first church in 1866, but it was not dedicated until July, 1870. The other denominations worshiped wherever they could find audience room, now in the schoolhouse, again in the court rooms, and frequently in private residences.

The town of Pueblo was formally organized in the winter of 1859-60, the county in 1862. The latter included all the territory now embraced in its own, and the adjoining counties of Bent, Huerfano, and Las Animas, in area sufficient for an independent State. The first house in the town was erected by Mr. Jack Wright. From Stevenson's sketch we find that the first board of county commissioners consisted of O. H. P. Baxter, R. L. Wootton, and William Chapman; County Clerk, Stephen Smith; Sheriff, Henry Way. The first term of court was held by Hon. A. A. Bradford, subsequently appointed to the Supreme bench, and twice elected delegate to Congress. Prior to 1862 Pueblo occupied a rather lonely position. Its population was small, there was no regular communication by mail or otherwise with other settlements, and the original settlers had much difficulty in maintaining the position they had taken. In 1862 matters began to improve. A weekly mail was established, and J. A. Thatcher, a resident of Denver, went down there with a considerable stock of assorted merchandise adapted to the wants of the people, where, the venture proving quite profitable, his brother, M. D. Thatcher, joined him. Through close attention to business, both in process of years became very wealthy.

The "Colorado Chieftain" was established in 1868 by Dr. M. Beshoar (now of Trinidad), Wilbur F. Stone (afterward associate justice of the Supreme Court of the State, at this writing judge of the Criminal Court of Arapahoe County), and George A. Hinsdale, two of the ablest writers in the Territory, being its editors.

The first church in Pueblo was built in 1868 by the Episcopalians, and dedicated as St. Peter's church. They were followed by the Methodists, Presbyterians and Catholics in the order named.

In 1869 Thatcher Bros., Rettberg & Bartels, Berry Brothers, James Rice (now in his second term as Secretary of State), D. G. Peabody, and the Cooper Brothers were the principal merchants. Judge Moses Hallett (now U. S. District Judge) presided over the territorial court. The bar comprised A. A. Bradford, George A. Hinsdale, Wilbur F. Stone, H. C. Thatcher (afterward Chief-Justice of the State Supreme Court), James McDonald, J. W. Henry, and George Q. Richmond. Pueblo became an incorporated town in 1870. Its development into a large and flourishing city dates from the advent of the Denver & Rio Grande railway in 1872, of which a full account will be given hereafter.

Canon City. In a preceding chapter the opening scenes in the settlement of this now well established town were described. In the spring of 1860 the site was relocated and extended to embrace twelve hundred and eighty acres, the survey being made by Buell & Boyd of Denver, who also located the town site of Pueblo. Only a few cabins were built. Being on the natural highway to the mines of the Upper Arkansas and the South Park, it became a point of some prominence. One of the earliest land claims or farms, was taken up by Mr. Jesse Frazer, now a noted fruit grower of the State—in April, 1860, Mrs. Frazer, his spouse, being the first white woman who settled in the county outside of Cañon City. "From April, 1860, to September following," says Rockafellow, "there were neither civil nor criminal laws in the region. In September, a meeting of citizens was held, and a code of laws drafted for temporary use. W. R. Fowler, one of the prominent residents of the

present era, was chosen to administer them. He was thus made the head of a popular tribunal, modeled after those which were so successfully operated in Gilpin and other mining districts in primitive times." When winter closed the mines, the crowds of sturdy gold diggers emigrated to the genial climate of Cañon, and being somewhat boisterous at times, Magistrate Fowler was given frequent occasion to exercise the functions of his autocratic position. During 1860-61, many houses were built to accommodate the constant accessions, among them several rather pretentious structures of cut stone, which gave the place a more substantial appearance than even Denver exhibited until after 1864. In the latter year, being one of the party of citizens of Park county who went in pursuit of the Reynolds band of robbers, I had abundant opportunity to witness the grand preparations that had been made in previous years to make Cañon an important emporium of commerce. At the time mentioned it had been abandoned by all but Anson Rudd and family, who, having set their stakes for a permanent homestead and possessing unfaltering confidence in the final outcome, stood resolutely by it. Having been chasing over the mountains for several weeks—tired, sun-burned, dusty, and otherwise transformed from my accustomed appearance and habits as a town dweller, an invitation from Mr. and Mrs. Rudd to dine with them was gratefully accepted. The recollection of the quiet comfort, the generous hospitality, the spotless cleanliness, and exact order prevailing everywhere about the premises, and withal, the marvelous contrast to the life I had been leading for the preceding month in the camps of the park and mountains, left impressions which have been cherished as delightful memories through all the intervening years. Happily both of these estimable people have lived to witness and enjoy the fruition of their hopes. It required courage and faith such as only few possessed to cling to the spot when all their neighbors and friends had fled, and they are richly entitled to greater rewards than the unfolding years have brought them.

At one time, between 1860 and 1862, nearly a thousand people, mostly from the mountain districts had congregated there, and it was

found necessary to frame a new code of laws and meet the inflow of disorder by more stringent regulations. Thereupon, Messrs. Stone and Hinsdale, the eminent pioneer lawyers, formulated a series of statutes covering all essential points. According to Magistrate Fowler, they "conferred upon the court criminal and civil jurisdiction, while the court arrogated to itself chancery and all other powers not delegated by the code." In fact it was supreme, no provision being made for an appeal from its decisions.

Clear Creek County. The deposits on Jackson's bar were neither extraordinarily rich nor very extensive, therefore were soon worked out. Then succeeded discoveries below the site of Idaho on Illinois Bar and Grass Valley flats; on Soda Hill, Payne's and Spanish Bars, extending up to Fall River, and, at intervals, to Empire and Georgetown. By the spring of 1862 most of the mines had been closed and were carried on, if at all, in a desultory manner without profit. The people migrated. The only town of any consequence, and this only a straggling settlement of cabins, was Idaho, whose growth was subsequently enforced through the fame of its mineral springs. Here F. W. Beebee built a cabin larger than those of his neighbors, and opened a hotel.

The discovery of silver, a metal which had not been sought and very little of which had been mined, as none knew how to treat the ores, was first brought into prominence by the opening of the Whale lode on the lower end of Spanish Bar, in 1861, by Dr. and Roland Carleton. The vein was very large and extremely promising. The quartz was taken to a stamp mill below Idaho. As the amalgam rolled up in great ridges upon the plates, it became a source of wonder that material could be so rich in gold, but the astonishment gave way to something like dejection when the mass was retorted and found to be a white metal new to the experience of the period. Nevertheless there was sufficient gold to slightly color the silver and it went to the bankers for judgment and sale, by whom material reductions were made in the usual price for gold bullion. But it was not until several lots had been disposed of that the true value of the "Whale Gold,"

as it was termed, was ascertained by assay, after which the further development of this famous property was suspended.

The beginning of the great inpouring which created a large and extremely brisk settlement at the head of South Clear Creek occurred in the autumn of 1865. In September of the previous year ex-Provisional Governor Steele, James Huff and Robert Layton, while prospecting on the eastern slope of McClellan Mountain, discovered a vein of mineral—afterward christened the “Belmont.” Specimens taken to Central City for assay, were found to be remarkably rich in silver. A company was formed to work the mine and some great results were obtained. The locality of this great strike was about eight miles from Georgetown. Reports of this and other discoveries spread with the usual rapidity, and various colors of exaggeration to the uttermost parts, bringing a multitude. As the discoveries multiplied through the industry of the groups scattered over all the slopes of the region, the excitement increased. The Georgetown Silver Smelting Co., John T. Herrick, Manager, established in 1867, a few rudely constructed furnaces at a cost of about twenty-five thousand dollars, which ran intermittently until 1869. The value of the bullion produced is given by Cushman at fifty-five thousand dollars. Various appliances for concentrating, reducing and extracting, followed, as in Gilpin County, each endeavoring to enforce a greater yield of the precious metal, than its competitor, and at less cost. Only a few were successful. After a brief spurt of wonderful activity, in which the principal mines were sold to investors in Eastern cities, the customary litigation succeeded in putting a wet blanket upon all things, and reducing the camp to the last stage of depression. No material advances were made thereafter until the arrival of the Colorado Central railway some years later, when the bulk of the mining product found its way to the Boston & Colorado works at Black Hawk.

Spanish Bar, in the year 1860, was the center of a numerous population, nearly all engaged in extracting gold from the alluvial sands and gravels along the old channels of Clear Creek. A few locations, or claims were rich, but the majority were unproductive. On one of

the latter the author took his primary lesson in mining, without other result than a valuable experience gained. Here, as elsewhere, until after the territorial organization, justice was administered by people's courts. At one of these meetings an incident occurred which is worth repeating, since it is a fair illustration of the primitive methods of protecting the "honest miner" from the criminal class.

It has been stated that among the early settlers theft was the one unpardonable sin. A man might do many things out of the lawful order with perfect impunity, but "thou shalt not steal" was an irrevocable edict. To violate this injunction was to invite swift vengeance. No miner locked the doors of his cabin, though there might be hundreds or thousands in gold dust within, and wholly unguarded. Every man was put upon his honor. One day there came to the Bar one of the roughest characters I have ever beheld, a young man apparently about twenty years of age, whose appearance and demeanor indicated long service in several grades of crime. He stole something, exactly what, is not now recalled. He was instantly pursued, captured, taken before the court, Judge Turnley presiding, George Griffith, from whom Georgetown was named, acting as clerk, and duly arraigned before a jury of six, for trial. When the court asked his name, he answered, "It's none of your d—d business what my name is. If you must have a name, call me Brown, Jones or Robinson, anything, it matters not to me." His face was red and freckled, his head covered with a heavy shock of red, matted hair; his lips were thick and repulsive, and moreover, discolored by tobacco stains. Throughout the trial his manner was insolent, reckless and exasperating, as the evidence unfolded the nature of his offence. The jury retired, and after a brief consultation, found a verdict of "Guilty," and as it was also a part of their duty to fix the punishment, it was decided to give him thirty-nine lashes upon his bared back, to shave one side of his head, and banish him from the district. This determination having been rendered to the court, it was accepted and immediate execution of the judgment ordered, with this

addenda:—"If the prisoner ever returns to this bar, the residents thereof are hereby authorized and empowered to shoot him on sight."

Thereupon the prisoner was taken to a neighboring tree, stripped to the waist, his hands bound together with a strong cord, and stretched up until his toes barely touched the ground, when the juror, a man named Davis, who had been appointed to do the thrashing, produced a large and long black-snake whip. Standing at a distance which would enable him to strike cutting blows with the cracker end of the lash, he proceeded to his duty of laying on the ordered thirty-nine. When the blows began to fall thick and fast, the bravado which until then had been maintained, began to express itself in piteous appeals for mercy, penitence for his sins, and promises to lead a correct life in future. But there was no pause. The blows rained upon him until the full measure had been meted out, when the victim was unbound, and on his solemn asseveration that he would go and sin no more, the part of the sentence which required one side of his head to be shaved bare to the scalp, was suspended. Notwithstanding his protestations of reform, profiting nothing from the severity of the lesson he had received, he soon fell into his old habits, and, as we learned some time afterward, was caught and hanged in one of the mining camps over the Range.

A day or two later, another thief was caught on Grass Valley Bar, when he was stretched up and unmercifully thrashed, the flesh of his back being literally cut to shreds. The reader will at once comprehend that these salutary admonitions were calculated to produce a happy effect. At all events, no more robberies were committed in those regions until after the institution of orthodox courts, which afforded offenders more avenues of escape.

For a year or two the district of Trail Run, located on a small stream which debouches into Clear Creek from the southwest, near the head of Spanish Bar, enjoyed great prosperity. A riot occurred there in 1863 through the refusal of some of the citizens to submit themselves to the forms and processes of the "new fangled courts," which,

from its violence and duration, compelled Governor Evans to send a troop of cavalry from Denver to suppress the malcontents.

Mines were discovered and small settlements made at Fall River, along Mill Creek above, and at Downieville, still beyond toward the Snowy Range. In 1861, near the town of Empire, situated twelve miles west of Idaho, some brilliant prospects were opened which caused hundreds of miners to locate there. Large quantities of gold were sluiced from the decompositions of the quartz veins, for one or more seasons, when the richer ground being exhausted, the usual hegira took place.

While dealing with these reminiscences of the early days, it is a pleasurable duty to include a brief sketch of the career of one whose excellences of character, her many misfortunes, trials and afflictions, elicited tender sympathy from every one, for all the people knew and admired her no less for her sublime Christian zeal and fortitude than for her patient industry. "Aunt Clara Brown" was the first of her race to reach the Pike's Peak region. She was born a slave in the Old Dominion in the year 1800. Her master subsequently removed to Kentucky, taking with him his goods and chattels, Clara, then nine years old, among the latter. She was married at the age of eighteen. The fruits of this union were three daughters and a son. At the death of her owner in 1835, she and her children were sold to different parties, Aunt Clara going to Russellville, Kentucky, and the children elsewhere. At the death of this new master she became the property of still another purchaser by whom she was manumitted, and in 1859 emigrated with the grand column marching to the Pike's Peak gold region, maintaining herself by cooking and washing for the party she had joined. Locating in Central City, and discovering an opportunity to accumulate funds for the execution of the great purpose of her life, which was to find and rescue her children from bondage, she opened a laundry. The hearty sympathies of the generous miners being enlisted in her cause, every one befriended her, so that in a few years by incessant toil and the judicious investment of her earnings, she accumulated a modest fortune.

In 1866 the search began, and was continued unremittingly until her relatives and children were found and brought to Colorado. With the means still remaining she educated her daughters. Unhappily, misfortunes came, and deprived her of everything, and during the last years of her melancholy life she was aided by the Pioneers' Association, and at her death was buried by it.

At many periods in the course of the author's life in Colorado, he has been asked how and when the series of magnificent scenic wonders called the "Garden of the Gods" received its christening, whether it antedated the coming of the Pike's Peak emigrants, or was attached after the location of the Colorado Springs colony by General R. A. Cameron and associates. It is believed by many that Fitzhugh Ludlow is entitled to the honor, but in a letter to a Boston paper written by Lewis N. Tappan about the year 1870, we find the facts related substantially as follows: Tappan, with three others, left Denver in August, 1859, to select a town site near the base of Pike's Peak. The place afterward known as Colorado City, was chosen. The location having been made, the party went out to explore the suburbs; chased a large wolf over the town site, and shot an antelope. Proceeding a mile to the northward they found themselves among the picturesque monuments and towering rocks, where a panorama of transcendent beauty lay spread out before them. Standing upon one of the rocky prominences, one of the party named Cable, after taking in the wondrous prospect, broke the silence by exclaiming, "Wonderful! a fit Garden for the Gods!" to which his companions responded, "Amen! We will christen it 'The Garden of the Gods.'"

The name has been perpetuated to our time, and will endure with the ages, because of its appropriateness. The vision embraced within its scope is one of the loveliest in all the Rocky Mountain region, exciting the reverence of all beholders, and forming an enchanting resort for the thousands who seek the delicious waters of Manitou during each recurring summer.

We close the chapter with an extract from Ruxton, the English

traveler and sportsman who visited what is now Manitou in 1847, and in the course of his wanderings jotted down in his notebook the following: "The Indians regard with awe the medicine waters of these springs, as being the abode of a spirit who breathes through the transparent water, and thus by his exhalations causes the perturbation of its surface. The Arapahoes especially, attribute to this water god the power of ordaining the success or miscarriage of their war expeditions; and as their braves pass often by the mysterious springs when in search of their hereditary enemies, the Yutes (Utes) in the valley of Salt (South Park), they never fail to bestow their votive offering upon the water sprite in order to propitiate the 'Manitou' of the fountain." At the time of his visit the "basin of the spring was filled with beads, and wampum, and pieces of red cloth and knives, while the surrounding trees were hung with strips of deerskin, cloth and moccasins. * * The 'sign' too around the spring, plainly showed that here a war dance had been executed by the braves. * * This country was once possessed by the Shoshone, or Snake Indians, of whom the Comanches of the plains are a branch, and although many hundred miles now divide their hunting grounds, they were once, if not the same people, tribes of the same grand nation."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1870-72—FURTHER HISTORY OF THE DENVER PACIFIC—OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS FOR 1870—GOVERNOR EVANS' DONATION TO ARAPAHOE COUNTY—DRIVING THE SILVER SPIKE—THE LOCOMOTIVE D. H. MOFFAT—GREAT MASONIC DEMONSTRATION—LAYING THE CORNER STONE OF THE UNION DEPOT—BUILDING THE KANSAS PACIFIC—CONSTANT ANNOYANCE FROM INDIANS—THE TOWN OF KIT CARSON—GRADING FROM DENVER EASTWARD—BRISK WORK BY EICHOLTZ AND WEED—FINAL COMPLETION OF THE ROAD—OPENING A NEW ERA OF PROGRESS—REAL ESTATE IN DENVER—STATISTICAL DATA—FIRST THROUGH PULLMAN CAR—FREIGHT TARIFFS—DENVER & BOULDER VALLEY R. R.—THE DENVER & RIO GRANDE RAILWAY—ITS FIRST TRAINS—UTOPIAN CHARACTER OF THE ENTERPRISE—FOUNDING COLORADO SPRINGS AND MANITOU—FITZHUGH LUDLOW'S DREAM—DESCRIPTION OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS—EXTENSION OF THE RIO GRANDE TO PUEBLO—RECEPTION AND BANQUET—EFFECT OF RAILWAY CONNECTION ON THE TOWN.

Continuing the subject of our first railways, with the object of making the history of these enterprises complete down to the period embraced in this volume, we find that on the 18th of January, 1870, the stockholders of the Denver Pacific elected as directors for the ensuing year, John Evans, John Pierce, Walter S. Cheesman, William M. Clayton, Frank Palmer, and D. H. Moffat, Jr., of Denver, with Robert E. Carr, R. H. Lamborn and William J. Palmer, who represented the Kansas Pacific interest in the company. These directors, at a meeting held soon afterward, elected John Evans President; John Pierce, Vice-President; R. R. McCormick, Secretary; D. H. Moffat, Jr., Treasurer, and Col. L. H. Eicholtz, Chief Engineer. Cyrus W. Fisher was made Superintendent of the road. The Kansas Pacific representatives, though in the minority, held, nevertheless, through arrangements made with it for the completion of the Denver Pacific a

strong position, the men selected being well calculated by virtue of their energy and ability to exercise a powerful, if not a controlling influence, in the direction of its affairs.

Governor Evans, in his report rendered in January, 1870, stated that the Union Pacific company having failed them, the company of which he was President issued, as authorized by the act of Congress of March, 1869, two and a half millions of first mortgage gold bonds, bearing seven per cent. interest, the lien covering also eight hundred thousand acres of land granted it by Congress.

Under this arrangement fifty-eight miles of the road was completed—Cheyenne to Evans—and turned over to the company December 16th, 1869. The contract for the balance was perfected in August of that year. The road had three locomotives, two passenger cars, and sufficient freight cars to accommodate the then rather limited traffic. The first division was opened just after the fall trade of the Territory had been quite fully provided for, yet the gross earnings for the remaining fourteen days of December amounted to four thousand nine hundred dollars, yielding a net profit over operating expenses of two thousand five hundred and ninety-nine dollars and eighty-four cents.

In an address to the Board of Trade, his active and influential coadjutor, early in April, 1870, the Governor, after reviewing the general history of the Denver Pacific, said, "When, last summer, the board of trustees of the railway company, this Board of Trade, and the county commissioners each unanimously urged me to take a contract to build the Denver Pacific railway, I unhesitatingly accepted. Before taking the contract, however, the board of trustees made an effort to reduce the capital stock of the road from four millions to two millions, which would have enhanced the interest of the county of Arapahoe one hundred per cent. But it was discovered that this act, if consummated, would prevent the company from borrowing enough money to complete the road, for the law prohibits the indebtedness from exceeding the amount of the capital stock of the company. Therefore, the only alternative, if we proceeded to complete the work in

hand, was to leave the capital stock at its existing amount—four millions. The stock represented all the value then existing, and it was an absolute necessity that the stock should all be given to secure the prosecution and completion of the work. Even then it was doubtful if it could be made to answer the purpose, for it must either be sold for cash enough, or the assets it represented be made to serve the purpose of borrowing enough money upon, to pay for the entire work. Nothing but cash will build railways.

“I took the contract, therefore, to build the road with the remaining stock. The county bonds in hand, at the best price that could be obtained for them, were barely sufficient to finish the grading and pay the pressing indebtedness already incurred for ties and other material. While the contract was thus pressed upon me, and while there were serious doubts as to the success of our efforts to make the means accomplish the end in view, I held in mental reservation a determination to so manage the matter as to make enough out of the contract to enable me to donate to the county an additional half million of the capital stock of the road.

“This purpose I did not at first allow myself to express to any one, for fear of disappointment in making the necessary profit on the contract to enable me to do so, and in my negotiations, I found it absolutely necessary to place the half million capital stock in trust, to be voted in perpetuity, but reserving to myself and my assigns the entire right of property in the same, and all profits and dividends arising therefrom.

“I will, therefore, have, to all intents and purposes, the whole intrinsic value of said stock in my possession and ownership as soon as the road shall be completed, and I now for the first time publicly declare, that it is my full purpose and intention to donate the same to Arapahoe County, as soon as I shall become entitled to it by compliance with my contract to complete the road to the city of Denver. This I do on the condition that the people shall go forward with the other enterprises so necessary to our prosperity.”

It may be stated in this connection, that the venture proved successful and, in the end, highly profitable, therefore the stock was, in due time transferred by the Governor to the Board of County Commissioners and formally accepted by them on the conditions prescribed.

The Denver Pacific was fully completed and formally accepted June 24th, 1870, though as already stated, the first locomotive, named the D. H. Moffat, arrived with the construction train on the fifteenth of that month. This engine previous to its purchase by this company, had been known as number twenty-nine of the Union Pacific road, and had something of a history. It was the first to enter the town of Cheyenne, the first to cross the Black Hills and the Rocky Mountains, the first to signal its presence in the valley of Salt Lake, the first to enter Colorado, and finally, with the veteran engineer, Sam Bradford, the first to announce to the people of Denver the completion of their first railway.

The driving of the last spike, frequently an important event, was deferred until St. John's Day, June 24th, on which occasion all the Masonic bodies in the city turned out to assist in celebrating the final act. In the course of their long line of march they proceeded to the site of the proposed Union depot, where a large concourse awaited them to witness the imposing ceremony of laying the corner stone of that edifice. An excursion train came up from Cheyenne, bearing a large number of Masons from that town and from Greeley.

The spike used was of pure silver, six inches in length, presented to Governor Evans by W. E. Barton and L. J. Fay on behalf of the people of Georgetown, with their hearty congratulations on the auspicious completion of the road. On one side was engraved—"Georgetown to the Denver Pacific Railway," and on the opposite, "John Evans, President, June 24th, 1870." Later in the day Col. L. H. Eicholtz, Superintendent of Construction, was presented with a fine gold watch and chain by the officers of the road, Governor Evans making the presentation speech.

Let us turn now to the Kansas Pacific and recount as briefly as

possible the progress of the work in that direction. About the middle of March, 1870, General William J. Palmer and Colonel W. H. Greenwood made preparation for grading their road from this end of their located line eastward, to connect with the grading forces then pushing forward from the Pond Creek terminus. General F. M. Case was made Chief Engineer, and Col. Eicholtz Superintendent of Construction. Having sold six and a half millions of its securities in Germany, the company was now equipped for continuous and rapid work, and every effort was put forth for its extension to Denver. Soon after crossing the Colorado line, the town of Kit Carson was founded, the first and only settlement of any prominence that has been erected along its lines within our boundaries. It was situated on the Big Sandy, on a perfectly level plain. The town of Sheridan near the western line of Kansas was uprooted and removed bodily to Carson. Two or three hundred houses of different kinds, mostly temporary, were erected. It was one hundred and eight miles from Pueblo, and four hundred and eighty-seven miles west of Kansas City. We speak of it in the past tense, for it disappeared a few years later, and nothing more substantial than an isolated railway station now marks the spot where once stood a rather busy frontier village, bristling with life and commercial activity under the stimulus of railway traffic and large disbursements for labor and supplies. When the base came to be removed further toward the mountains, Carson died of inanition, its isolated position affording it neither commerce nor the aid of developments in the surrounding country, since there were few settlers and nothing to attract them.

During the spring and summer of 1870 the Cheyenne Indians, venomously hostile to the construction of a railroad through their favorite resort for winter quarters, made frequent attacks upon the engineers and graders, driving off their stock, attacking trains and killing the drivers and herders. The annoyance becoming intolerable, General John Pope, then in command of the department, was compelled to send out troops. Four companies of cavalry and three of

infantry were stationed at the more exposed points, but even this force was scarcely sufficient to repress the hostiles. The raids were continued at intervals until the line was finished.

Grading from Denver eastward, began May 26th, 1870, from a point near the Denver Pacific just north of the Fair Grounds of the Colorado Agricultural Society, under the direction of Col. Eicholtz, with the intention of meeting the force approaching from Carson. The first train entered this city August 15th following. On the night of the 12th a gap of only ten and a quarter miles remained. Then ensued a brisk rivalry between Colonel Weed, Superintendent of the Eastern Division, and Eicholtz of the Western, as to which should first reach the central station between, where a flag had been placed to mark the spot. In the course of operations, Weed ran out of iron, but was soon supplied from the Western section by hauling it in wagons. It had been resolved to finish the road on the 15th, hence every energy of the working crews was bent to this purpose. Word was passed to the men, and the promise of a sumptuous banquet given to stimulate them to do their utmost. Then followed some of the most extraordinary work ever witnessed in the history of railway construction. The coveted flag was reached and taken by Weed at precisely one o'clock and ten minutes. Eicholtz in turn ran out of iron, which being slow to arrive, delayed him until three o'clock p. m., at which hour the junction was made. The ten and a quarter miles were laid in ten hours. Col. Eicholtz acquired his experience in rapid construction during the War of the Rebellion, as chief engineer of General W. W. Wright's division of Sherman's army from Chattanooga to Atlanta. It will be remembered that as the Confederates under Johnston fell back from the resistless force of our arms, they destroyed the railways and bridges. Eicholtz restored them. In 1866 he was stationed at Topeka as resident engineer of the Kansas Pacific road. The year following he made the survey of the 32d parallel from Kansas to California when the company contemplated building to the coast by that route. A part of the line thus located is now used by the Southern

Pacific. He returned via Panama, and next appeared as an engineer of construction on the Union Pacific, where he remained until its completion to Promontory, when he came to Denver and was appointed chief of construction on the Denver Pacific.

A special train had gone down from Denver, and another came up from Carson, each loaded with passengers eagerly interested in the final consummation of the second grand artery of the future, and anxious to witness the exciting rivalry between the tracklayers. These trains arrived in Denver at 6:45 that evening.

This, indeed, proved to be the inauguration of a new era of progress in the development of the country from the heterogeneous to the homogeneous. Henceforth the progress of Denver was to be more prominently identified with the progress of the entire Territory. Here all doubts ended, the veil of uncertainty was lifted, and the promise of a golden future assured. It was the impelling force in the creation of the magnificent railway center since established. How much the struggling communities around us needed the assistance of these potential agencies in their efforts to build a powerful commonwealth, none save those who passed the trials of the first decade can rightly estimate. They had long been promised the light of a brilliant dawning, but the hope had been so often deferred and so often well nigh extinguished, there were times when it seemed impossible of realization. General Dodge had said the town of Denver in a few years would be a deserted village, the grass growing in its streets, and only abandoned buildings left to indicate its fate. When he became interested in the Carter-Loveland road from the Union Pacific to Golden, he declared that that town was to be the metropolis of Colorado. Never wholly friendly to this city, he appears to have employed his influence with the Union Pacific directors in opposition to the measures instituted for the construction of the Denver Pacific road. But neither he nor his associates had properly measured the latent power of the men who had undertaken this enterprise. They were not of the caliber to be easily dismayed by threats or shaken from

their purposes by trials and disappointments. They might, had the worst come, have built and equipped the line from their private means. It might have strained but it would not have exhausted their resources. They proved themselves strong enough to secure congressional legislation, which, supplemented by the county bonds and individual subscriptions, gave them ample means for the accomplishment of their ends. Though it cost the county half a million and the citizens two hundred and fifty thousand, the entire amount was quickly repaid by the immediate augmentation of business, the steady advance in property values, and the added thousands of people who crowded in to share the bounties provided. None but the men who passed through the dark and despairing days when everything appeared to work disaster and to threaten annihilation, can realize the state of public feeling. Colorado seemed to be cut off and set aside as a barren region not worth saving. Nothing but the energy and faith of men like Evans, Moffat, Johnson, Hughes, Pierce, Cheesman, Clayton, Salomon, and the sturdy spirits who clustered about them in the Board of Trade, saved us from serious retrogression. The work they performed, the gigantic obstacles they overcame, and the indomitable perseverance they exhibited in the plan of salvation, rescued Denver from great peril. Though they were unable to secure the transcontinental road, they built the branch, and, moreover, forced the Kansas Pacific to make this city its western terminus, thereby securing the advantage of a trunk line to Kansas City and St. Louis, and connection via the Denver Pacific with Omaha, Salt Lake and California. Indeed, the Kansas road proved the more important of the two, for it opened sources of supply from the rich corn, hay and grain fields of that State which filled our wants until our own farmers were prepared by increase of numbers and a more widely cultivated area to meet the deficiency of agricultural products. We had little or no trade with the West, no marked identity of interest with that region, our only commerce for some years after the road opened being in the line of domestic fruits.

The problem of our destiny began to reach its solution immediately after, and as a direct consequence of the building of the Kansas Pacific. It became, with the branch to Cheyenne, which it subsequently absorbed, the focal point of many other lines that followed in rapid succession. Our people, now thoroughly reassured, entered upon the work before them, strong and self-reliant. Real estate, which had had no stable value before, soon became the center of speculative interest. Vast schemes of internal improvement were projected. Now that capital could be brought in comfortable cars instead of joint-racking stages, it came in generous quantities. The town, already noted as a sanitarium, attracted scores of wealthy invalids. Lots and lands that had been considered comparatively valueless, since they could neither be sold, nor used as collateral for loans, or as a basis of credit, became prominent factors in the fast accumulating wealth. The straggling, scattered city began to put on airs and to give signs of a wonderful development. Ground that had been taken in payment of small debts at the grocery or drygoods stores, in lieu of the cash which the owners could not raise, began to advance, then to double, and finally to quadruple in value. Men who had been compelled to economize in all directions to meet their taxes upon real estate, loaded upon them against their will, suddenly began to realize that the burden was likely to enrich them. Speculators floated in, opened real estate offices, and hung out attractive signs with the legend of "Money to loan" emblazoned upon them in gold letters. Outlying lands susceptible of irrigation, were picked up and measures taken to bring them under cultivation. From that time to the present there has been a constantly increasing anxiety to secure landed property, with a steady increase of value. Some of the lots on the principal business streets, that were bought for a few dollars in the early days, are to-day worth tens of thousands. The two on Larimer street occupied by the Cole block, purchased, one for thirty-five cents, the other for forty cents, are now worth not far from seventy thousand dollars. Some of our millionaires of 1889, made so largely by their acquisitions of real

estate in the ante-railway period, were in 1865-66, and even as late as 1870, among the incessant growlers about taxes. A tract of eighty acres lying just southeast of the cemetery on the Hill, which the author purchased for five hundred dollars in 1870, sold since the writing of this chapter began, for eighty thousand dollars, and has been converted into one of the numerous "additions" to the city. It is perhaps useless to add that I had no share in this enormous advance, else this history would not have been written.

The tract known as Capitol Hill, pre-empted from the government by Henry C. Brown at one dollar and a quarter an acre, and which until about the year 1878, no one would occupy as a place of residence, is now densely populated and worth uncounted millions. The same is true of the Baxter B. Stiles homestead and adjoining tracts, in the northern division of the city. Old residents remember when his little white house stood all alone on the open prairie, which few thought of visiting except in a carriage, owing to its remoteness from town. It is now at the corner of Twenty-first and Champa streets and the site occupied by Willard Teller. These few illustrations will indicate to the modern reader something of the changes that have taken place since the first locomotive shrieked its entry into Denver.

At the close of 1870 the sales of real estate reported for the year aggregated seven hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars; the value of buildings erected in the same period was five hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars. The volume of trade roughly approximated by the newspaper statisticians with the favorable coloring usually given such estimates, amounted to nine millions and ninety thousand, and the total of manufactures to eight hundred and twenty-five thousand. The population of the city, taken from the official census of the year was four thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, but the acquisitions brought in by the railroads after the census account had been closed, justified the claim of five thousand. The total business of 1870 was undoubtedly, about one hundred per cent. greater than that of 1869.

The First National bank, with a capital of \$200,000, showed a total deposit of \$674,944; cash on hand, including bonds and exchange, \$754,009.46; a surplus of \$98,756.46, and gross footing of \$1,153,700.46.

The Colorado National bank, with a capital of \$100,000, showed deposits amounting to \$478,165.47; cash, including bonds and exchange, \$450,578.64; a surplus of \$20,000 and a total footing of \$691,535.07.

Such was the state of affairs, briefly epitomized, at the end of our first half-year's experience under the beneficent aid of railways. As we have seen, both roads were compelled to fight their way through combinations of every sort calculated to harass and delay, while the people found themselves in much the same predicament as the fellow who had the bull by the tail, neither daring to hold on nor to let go for fear of worse disasters.

A series of excursions from St. Louis, Kansas City and other points followed, when hundreds who had heard of Colorado as a settlement on the wild Western frontier, peopled by rough riders, hunters, trappers and miners scarcely less civilized than the untutored savage, began to pour in to witness this romantic spot whence the ancestors of some of the tourists representing "first families" had years before the Pike's Peak epoch, gathered wondrous harvests of beaver skins and other peltries, and where lay the beginning of their fortunes. The Denver theater on the corner of Lawrence and Sixteenth streets, long closed for the want of patronage, re-opened under radiant auspices. The alert and enterprising Mongolians came in from the Pacific, timidly and in small groups at first, but finding their entry and residence unopposed, finally by scores and hundreds, to open laundries, and to engage in gold mining in the gulches and placers abandoned by white labor because too lean to be worthy their attention. Gambling houses, dance houses, saloons and concomitant evils which had been measurably suppressed since 1865, partly by law but chiefly as the result of hard times, multiplied in corresponding ratio to the increase of prosperity.

The first through Pullman palace car from Chicago to Denver via Kansas City, arrived October 7th, 1870, and was named "Comanche." It was the first of the luxurious and altogether admirable additions to the pleasures of railway travel that many of our people had ever seen, hence it attracted much attention.

The schedule of freight tariffs via Omaha, Leavenworth & Kansas City to Denver, published December 15th, 1870, ran as follows :

Merchandise, first-class, \$2.60 per 100 pounds; second class, \$2.00; third class, \$1.75; fourth class, \$1.40.

The Colorado Central railroad, graded by the people of Jefferson County, ironed and equipped by the Union Pacific Company, was completed to Golden City and opened to traffic on the 23d of September, 1870. Thereafter the stage lines plying between this city and the mines at Black Hawk, Central City and Georgetown transferred their headquarters to the terminus of the road at the base of the mountains.

The Denver & Boulder Valley Railroad Company was organized in October, 1870, with a capital stock of one million dollars. The trustees were John Evans, J. B. Chaffee, D. H. Moffat, Jr., W. S. Cheesman, P. M. Housel, Granville Berkley and W. J. Palmer. Mr. Chaffee was elected President; W. S. Cheesman, Vice-President; R. R. McCormick, Secretary, and D. H. Moffat, Jr., Treasurer.

Mortgage bonds to the amount of three hundred thousand dollars, bearing seven per cent. interest, were issued and guaranteed by the Denver Pacific, from the sale of which funds were derived for the construction of the road. Work began on the 24th of October in the year named, and the road was completed to the Erie coal fields in Boulder County on the 24th of January following, R. E. Carr and D. H. Moffat being the contractors. The line was fifteen miles in length, extending from Hughes station on the Denver Pacific, and actually a branch of that road. It was built to open the very extensive and excellent coal beds existing at the point named, that the roads and the city might be supplied with cheap fuel. For this purpose the Boulder Valley Coal Company was organized, and the town of Erie laid out. Lots were

sold to the miners at low prices and on liberal terms to induce permanent settlement and thereby lessen the danger of strikes. Thus another artery of commerce which has developed into one of the more important of the series was added to the embryotic system.

The Denver & Rio Grande Railway Company was organized in Denver in October, 1870, articles of incorporation having been filed on the 27th of that month, bearing the names of only three corporators—W. J. Palmer, A. C. Hunt and W. H. Greenwood. The Board of Directors comprised W. J. Palmer and A. C. Hunt of Colorado ; R. H. Lamborn of Philadelphia ; W. P. Millen of New York, and Thomas J. Wood of Ohio.

These directors or trustees elected Palmer President, Lamborn Vice-President, and Howard Schuyler Secretary and Treasurer. Gen. Sam E. Browne was made Solicitor, W. H. Greenwood Manager of Construction, and J. P. Mersereau Chief Engineer.

The capital stock was placed at fourteen millions. For construction purposes bonds of the company were issued at the rate of ten thousand dollars per mile. The trustees for the bondholders were J. Edgar Thompson, Samuel M. Felton and L. H. Meyer.

The work of building began in March, 1871, by the Union Contract Company. Track laying was inaugurated at the foot of Fifteenth street, Denver, July 27th, 1871. The road crossed the Divide and was completed to Colorado Springs, seventy-six miles, its first terminal, October 21st following. The three foot gauge decided upon, was a new and rather daring experiment, for as designed in its ultimate purpose, it was wholly without precedent in the annals of narrow gauge construction. While it is true that Palmer and his associates took as their basis of calculation for the route to be pursued in a mountainous region the narrow gauge roads of England, Wales and others operated on the continent of Europe, much attention was given to that constructed from the slate quarries of Festiniog to the quays of Portmadoc in North Wales. But this was a two foot gauge and only thirteen and a half miles in length, built primarily in 1832, and for many years thereafter

operated as a horse railway. It runs through a rough and rugged country, mountainous and rocky. It was originally laid with light iron rails of only sixteen pounds to the yard. In 1862 locomotives and passenger cars were put on to accommodate the people and the constantly increasing traffic, when rails of thirty pounds to the yard were substituted. These wearing out, they were replaced in 1870 by double headed rails of forty-eight and a half pounds to the yard. The passenger coaches being very narrow, the people were seated back to back, with a foot board along the side over the wheels as in the Irish jaunting car. In stormy weather they were protected by canvas sheets drawn to the height of the knees.

It was by no means difficult to discover full information respecting the cost of construction, and operation of the various narrow gauges thus far adopted, for the reason that the war of the gauges had been carried on for more than twenty-five years, the advocates of each giving innumerable facts, figures and arguments in support of their respective systems. The newspapers and magazines were filled with them, and many books and monographs added to the volume. Besides the Festiniog two-foot gauge in Wales, Belgium had one or more of three feet eight, France one of three feet four, India one of four feet, Norway and Sweden one of three feet six, the Mont Cenis tunnel one of three feet seven and a half, and Queensland one of three feet six.

All these experiments had been more or less successful, but nowhere else had so vast a system as the one now projected by Palmer, and for all purposes, been attempted. The cheapness of construction, the ease with which heavy grades and sharp curvatures could be surmounted, and the great amount of work each road was capable of executing, seemed to set an example whereby all the more expensive standard roads might, by a reduction of gauge, secure like profitable results. Here, however, as in Europe, the project was fiercely attacked by the old school engineers and builders. The Rio Grande was pronounced impracticable, a wanton waste of capital, a scheme

that must, perforce, terminate in signal failure. The columns of the press teemed with arguments for and against it, but as in all revolutions, it passed through the several grades of ridicule and argument to final adoption—after its practicability had been fully demonstrated.

But the principal source of wonder was how any company of builders possessing sound minds and average intelligence should imperil their honor and the money of innocent investors, by projecting even a narrow gauge railway through a region so utterly barren of settlers and visible resources as that between Denver and El Paso, Texas. Excepting the small village of Littleton, twelve miles away, and a few inhabitants scattered along the Fountaine-qui-bouille, there was nothing to invite nor give promise of traffic for an undertaking of such magnitude, for Pueblo was left out of the calculations. The site of the beautiful Colorado Springs of to-day was then but an open plain, afterward selected for a quiet, peaceful and industrious colony town—when settlers could be persuaded to locate there. The primitive town of Colorado City, for a brief period the capital of the Territory, in 1862, had declined until scarcely enough people remained to keep the place alive, and Pueblo was but a straggling village without much hope for the future. There was not an important industry on the route surveyed, and very little apparent material for the creation of enterprises, agricultural or otherwise. Parts of the Divide furnished admirable pasturage for cattle and sheep, and there were a few tracts of timber suitable for ordinary lumber. Still, the idea of building a railroad through such a country for the gains in sight seemed Quixotic to the last extreme. The stage line from Pueblo to Denver carried an average of three passengers daily. The entire system had to be created, from the grade to the rails, embracing every detail of equipment, and involving plans and specifications for countless new patterns for locomotives, wheels and cars.

The original plan contemplated a line from Denver direct to El Paso, a distance of eight hundred and fifty miles, through a region even more inhospitable and desolate than that just described, prac-

tically, for the most part, unpeopled and unproductive. Undoubtedly the promoters anticipated a speedy settlement, but this appeared to the casual observer a forlorn hope.

The first rails were laid on the 27th of July, 1871. The event drew together a number of railway men and citizens of Denver, the author among them, all eager to witness the inauguration of the new and novel innovation upon established methods of rapid transit. The first spike was driven by Col. W. H. Greenwood, manager of construction, after which Gen. Sam. E. Browne delivered an address pertinent to the occasion, referring chiefly to the organization of the company and the plans it had formulated, and predicting that when the advantages of the three-foot gauge should be fully defined, all the Western roads would alter their gauges to the new standard—a prophecy that has in no case been verified. Hon. W. A. Pile, ex-Governor of New Mexico, made a few remarks to the same effect. It was not a very stirring affair, nor were any large crowds present. The objects that attracted most attention were the diminutive cars and locomotives which had been brought from the East to start the road, and were then standing upon the flat cars of the Denver Pacific near at hand. The engines were named respectively the "Tabeguache," "Showano," and "Montezuma," the latter designed for passenger business, the others for freight.

In a short time four other cars, two combination baggage, mail and express, the one named "Denver" and the second "El Paso," arrived. They were thirty-five feet long, seven feet wide, and ten and a half feet high, weighing about fifteen thousand pounds. For the time, they were handsomely decorated and equipped. They were divided into compartments, so to speak, the seats to the center being double on one side and single on the opposite, with like interchange thence to the rear, so as to preserve a proper equilibrium. They were built by the Jackson & Sharp Company of Wilmington, Delaware, and by reason of their novelty attracted much attention en route.

When the first train was made up, and while awaiting orders to

move southward, hundreds of interested spectators were there to enjoy the wonderful novelty. The scene was both amusing and instructive. It resembled, with its tiny locomotive and cars, a toy outfit for children to play with, rather than the beginning of a colossal revolution. Year by year the designs were enlarged and otherwise perfected, until the trains, both freight and passenger, became equal to the immense traffic imposed by the growth of the country. No one then dreamed of the elegant sleepers, luxurious reclining chairs, or the tremendous tonnage since supplied. Like the Territory, it was in its swaddling clothes, and had yet to attain the full strength of robust manhood, before such improvements as are now seen were possible. It is no discredit to the builders of the mountain divisions of the Colorado Central and of the South Park roads to say that their equipments were furnished from the model thus provided, if not directly from the improved patterns.

The first stake in the town site of Colorado Springs was driven July 31st, 1871, in the presence of a number of ladies and gentlemen, who, though deeply interested, could not possibly have foreseen the results to follow. As a foundation for the modest colony to be located there, Palmer interested some of the wealthy stockholders in the purchase of a large tract of land opposite the base of Pike's Peak, to include the already famous, though as yet, wholly unimproved mineral springs, and all the available land in their vicinity, which was to be divided into villa sites. They secured ten thousand acres along Monument Creek, on which they proposed to lay out a town to be called Colorado Springs—an absolute misnomer, since it is six miles from any sort of springs. Manitou was originally christened "Villa La Font." Their next plan was to construct a fine carriage road from the colony to the springs, erect a comfortable, not to say a pretentious hotel in the former, and with the ultimate intention of making both places fashionable summer resorts. It is possible that in forming visions of the future, they had gathered inspiration from Fitzhugh Ludlow's prophetic dream, published in 1868 from notes taken during his first visit

to this romantic region in 1866-67. Ludlow, as is well known, was a confirmed opium eater, consequently a dreamer, and it may be that in one of the spells cast by the insidious drug, he wrote the following :

"These springs are very highly estimated among the settlers of this region for their virtues in the cure of rheumatism, all cutaneous diseases, and the special class for which the practitioner's sole dependence has hitherto been mercury. When Colorado becomes a State, the Springs of the Fountain will constitute its Spa. In air and scenery no more glorious summer residence could be imagined. The Coloradoan of the future, astonishing the echoes of the rocky foothills by a railroad from Denver to the Colorado Springs, and running down on Saturday night to stop over Sunday with his family, will have little cause to envy us Easterners our Saratoga, as he paces up and down the piazza of the Spa hotel mingling his full flavored Havana with that lovely air, quite unbreathed before, which is floating down upon him from the snow peaks of the Range."

How fully this portraiture of the coming eras has been perfected by the subtle fingers of time and the agencies it has evoked from the forces of nature, those who now enjoy the delights of Manitou, the Garden of the Gods and the æsthetic beauties of Colorado Springs, can realize and appreciate. In July, 1872, W. W. Nevins wrote the *Philadelphia Press* this sublime description :

"Health is what Colorado most surely and absolutely offers to its visitors. On this vast upland plateau, six thousand feet above the level of the sea, on which as a magnificent monolith, rests the Rocky Mountains, we have an atmosphere which itself is health. * * * *
North and South, from the Arctic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico there is raised a vast plateau of tableland from four thousand to six thousand feet, and extending in width many hundred miles. On this tremendous bed are built the unknown and almost limitless mountains, their vast, brawny, irregular ranges rolling out like the waves of the sea, in some places four hundred miles east and west. Of course, from any near point like this, the view is of a gigantic wall which rises

sharp against the sky, with its naked stone gray faces climbing, one above the other, until all are relieved and lost in the snow line. Climb what seems this wall, however, and you gain its summit only to see a more formidable ascent in advance, and so, on and on you might go for weary days and months. Once reach some commanding eminence like Long's Peak, Pike's or the Spanish Peaks, and then you only gain some idea of the mountains. Over a vast expanse of savage and desolate wilderness further than the limits of human eye can reach—a dreary ocean of waste—stretch out the endless ranges of the centuries, twisting, crossing and closing with each other like the contortions of giants.”

Coming back to Manitou, he concludes that it is idle to attempt a description “of the grandeur and picturesqueness of this wild gorge. It is a fine cañon, the walls of rock rising on either side almost perpendicularly, two thousand feet. As you make your way through this titanic fissure, so narrow at times that it seems itself as if a single span might bridge it, the walls appear to close in and shut you up in chambers of eternal rock. This magnificent cañon closes its series of beautiful shifting views with an airy waterfall three hundred feet in height, broken, however, in its descent into three *dalles* or descents. Down into the cool fastnesses of this cañon will be the attractions of the place, although now the professional tourist pays his respects to the Garden of the Gods and the bubbling springs, which constitute the regulation trip.”

From May until November Manitou is a scene of picturesque loveliness unparalleled in the Rocky Mountains. Two railways—the Rio Grande and the Midland, hourly wake the echoes of this wonderland; the slopes where once buffalo, deer, antelope and elk roamed in unchallenged freedom, are now dotted with beautiful villas; the springs are crowded with invalids seeking their health-imparting waters, and the piazzas of not one, but half a dozen hotels, are thronged with guests. Manitou has many rivals, but few equals.

Colorado Springs was organized, primarily, as the “Fountain

Colony of Colorado." All the profits derived from the sale of lots and lands were to be expended in public improvements. Titles to lots were made contingent upon the completion of certain improvements within four months. The manufacture and sale of intoxicants was strictly inhibited, and, as at Greeley, this condition entered into all contracts between the company and the settler.

General R. A. Cameron was made Vice-President, Superintendent and General Manager. It was with him that I made my first excursion to the famous springs, and he who suggested the appropriateness of the Indian name for the resort. At that time he was projecting and carrying into effect the plans for improvements which have given the two points a national, almost world-wide celebrity.

His faithful co-operators were W. E. Pabor Secretary, and E. S. Nettleton Chief Engineer, in charge of the scientific branches of the several enterprises. All the site back of the bluff line where now stands the splendid Antler's Hotel, and along which to the northward some of the most elegant residences have been built, was dotted here and there, though at wide intervals, with rude frame cabins. There was then not the shadow of promise of the present broad, smooth, well kept streets, lined with trees and beautiful homes, peopled with choice spirits from many climes, the center of wealth, culture and refinement that have caused it to be known, and deservedly, as the "Athens of Colorado;" nor of its handsome parks, its well ordered government, the multitudes upon its thoroughfares, the great business houses established, its fine schools, seminaries and colleges. The region had been but little advanced from the state in which Lieutenant Pike found it in 1806.

In the spring of 1871, General Palmer and ex-Governor Hunt instituted a brisk movement toward the extension of their railway to Pueblo where the people had caught the prevailing fever, and having acquired material accessions of population, began to assert their right to more conspicuous recognition. As nothing could be done without a public meeting, the leading citizens were called together the first week in March, to whom two distinct propositions were read, one from Palmer

and Hunt, on behalf of the Rio Grande, and the other from General R. E. Carr of the Kansas Pacific. In the first it was clearly stated that the Rio Grande Company would extend its road from Colorado Springs to Pueblo, notwithstanding the fact that it was not on its projected line, provided the county would subsidize it to the amount of two hundred thousand dollars in bonds.

General Carr proposed to construct a branch from his main line at Kit Carson, to Fort Lyon and thence up the Arkansas River, on condition that Pueblo County would aid it with a certain amount of bonds. Here was a choice to be sure, but the meeting rather favored the "baby road." As to the cost, there was no difference. Pueblo, never rash, took time for reflection. In June following, having meanwhile made her choice, a proposition to aid the Rio Grande was submitted to the electors and carried.

In the spring of 1872 the grade was extended down the fertile valley of the Fountaine-qui-bouille to the rising metropolis of the Arkansas Valley. While awaiting the rather slow arrival of the iron, a cloud of laborers were put upon the branch thence up the Arkansas River to the coal fields, about midway between Pueblo and Cañon City, with the further intention of proceeding southward toward Trinidad and the Raton Range of mountains as soon as the unfinished divisions were completed. It was anticipated that the company would construct something over one hundred and fifty miles of road during 1872. In March of that year, General Palmer and ex-Governor Hunt went to the Republic of Mexico, whence General Rosecrans had preceded them, and had been negotiating with the Juarez government for concessions to the proposed construction of a system of narrow gauge roads in that country. Rosecrans had made considerable progress, but Palmer's eminent skill was required to perfect the scheme. It may as well be stated here as elsewhere, that the project failed, largely through the intervention of English influence, and to some extent by reason of the hostility of the people to Americans. Some years later the negotiations were renewed, and out of them sprang the Mexico National railway

Track laying began the last week in March, 1872, from Colorado Springs toward Pueblo, to which point the road was completed on the 29th of June following. Hundreds of people assembled at the terminus to give the "baby road" a cordial welcome. On the 2d of July a train load of excursionists comprising the Governor, Territorial officers, the municipal authorities of Denver, representatives of the press, a number of prominent railway managers and many citizens went down to aid their brethren in celebrating the happy consummation of the union between the valleys of the Platte and Arkansas—the capital of the North with the first city of the South. The train was drawn by the quaint little engine "Ouray," which whirled it across the divide at the rate of twenty miles an hour. The excursionists reached Pueblo at one o'clock P. M., where the principal part of the inhabitants congregated to accord their guests of the day a cordial greeting. Forming in procession, all marched to the Court House where a sumptuous banquet had been provided. George Q. Richmond, the orator of the occasion, in a well considered speech, formally welcomed the visitors. "The consummation of this enterprise," he said, "had brought the people of Pueblo and of Southern Colorado into close fraternal contact with the Northern and Western divisions of the Territory, whence would arise a spirit of friendly strife between the two principal cities, each representing the central station of one-half the Territory. The natural tendency would be toward the building of more railroads on the narrow gauge plan until all material points were brought into the alliance. And thus we should soon be prepared for Statehood." The speech expressed very fully the enthusiasm of the people over the beginning of a more progressive era. Grace Greenwood, General Sam E. Browne, Col. W. H. Greenwood, C. J. Reid, editor of the "Chieftain," Hon. H. P. Bennett, G. M. Chilcott, General R. A. Cameron and others, followed in appropriate remarks.

Taken altogether, it was the happiest day in the history of the town, for, like the first born of woman, the advent of this tiny railroad was hailed with greater joy than all the rest which followed in the fulness of time.

The first depot was located on the Fountain north of the Court House, but was shortly afterward transferred to the present site. Crowds of immigrants came, hundreds of houses were built, trade flourished as never before; dance halls, theaters of questionable repute, gambling dens and the customary accessories inseparable from the excitement incident to the building of frontier towns, multiplied rapidly. Gradually the character of the place underwent a general transformation. From a quiet, unpretentious village, with a mixed population of Americans and Mexicans dwelling in long rows of primitive adobe houses which gave it the tone of a Mexican settlement with indolent, easy movement that signified, "We are at peace with all the world and hope to remain so," it suddenly assumed the habiliments of a new civilization, and with them loftier aims and purposes actuated every element of fixed society. In due time the mud houses disappeared and were replaced by substantial residences and business houses of brick and stone. Business methods changed from the old to new principles of conduct in mercantile affairs. While before it had borne some likeness to the city of Santa Fé, in that it resembled a brick yard, it now took on the nature of an American town which had the foundation of modern ideas and taste, and would henceforth be identified with the United States instead of Mexico in thought, feeling and action. Prices of goods cheapened, well assorted stocks adapted to the new epoch, were placed on sale. Public schools and churches began to appear. The hotels, though neither palatial nor imposing, were fair. But one essential element was left out of calculation which might then have been easily supplied, and is still lacking—there were neither trees nor public parks in all the wide boundaries of the town.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1870-72—DATA SHOWING THE GROWTH OF THE TERRITORY—EFFECT OF RAILWAYS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUEBLO—TERRITORIAL ASSESSMENTS AND EXPENDITURES—RALPH MEEKER'S TRIBUTE TO BYERS, EVANS AND MOFFAT—DEVELOPMENT OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS—THE SUPERINTENDENCY OF W. C. LOTHROP—ARAPAHOE STREET SCHOOL—LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATIONS—FIRST BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION—EFFECTS OF TOO FREE ADVERTISING—THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOSEPH E. BATES AS MAYOR—DEPLORABLE LACK OF PUBLIC PARKS—CONSERVATISM OF THE PEOPLE—HENRY M. STANLEY, THE RENOWNED EXPLORER—HIS CAREER IN THE WEST—FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF FOUNTAIN COLONY—FIRST YEAR'S PROGRESS—FORT COLLINS COLONY—ORGANIZATION OF COLORADO PIONEERS—VISIT OF THE GRAND DUKE ALEXIS OF RUSSIA—SETTLEMENT OF THE SAN JUAN COUNTRY.

The influence which operated most effectively toward the adjustment of our troubles with the hostile Indians, in all parts of the Territory was the coming of railways in 1870. With the first locomotive there came a radical change pregnant of momentous consequences for the new West. While the field of agriculture constantly expanded with the passing years, we are wholly without trustworthy data of the products, because they have never been collected. Though many attempts have been made to compile accurate statistics of the crops, none have succeeded. In all the mass of Territorial and State publications there is not one book nor pamphlet, report or compilation of any kind to which the earnest inquirer may turn and discover even a respectable glossary of facts relating to this very important branch of industry. The State, which should have reliable figures of the yields from every section cultivated, has only a few fragmentary reports—nothing complete, for the simple reason that no adequate provision has been made to achieve

better results. Hence the seeker after facts is compelled to rely upon estimates, no two of which are in agreement. If one should accost twenty different persons and ask each his opinion of the quantities of corn, wheat, oats and barley produced in Colorado in any given year, he would be likely to receive twenty different estimates, and the volume of information thus derived would be about as valuable as most of the published statistics on the subject.

The confession is humiliating, but true. The responsibility for this unfortunate state of affairs should rest where it belongs—with the Territorial and State Legislatures, which have uniformly treated the matter as one of no consequence whatever. Some of the members have even gone so far as to denounce every attempt to throw light upon such productions, under the apprehension probably, that if the facts are made known ruinous competition will ensue. Intellects of this caliber should emigrate to Mexico, or to some of the remote islands of the Pacific Sea where light and progress are unknown.

The value of the agricultural crop of 1868, to illustrate how little is known of such matters—was estimated at two millions seven hundred thousand dollars, and that of 1869 at three and a half millions; not a recorded syllable as to the nature of the products, nor even a guess at the amount of each, measured by pounds or bushels. Those of 1870-71, were said to have been about the same as that of 1869. While there was an increase in the number of acres sown, there was a manifest decrease of yield per acre, owing to protracted drouths. The bullion product from the mines, estimated by the same rule, showed an increase of about one million dollars, the gross amount being placed at four millions six hundred and sixty-three thousand. Since it was deemed essential to have some kind of an exhibit for advertisement abroad, to show that the Territory was not retrograding but making rapid strides toward the front, the yields of the farms and mines thus collated were bunched together, and the total of eight millions seven hundred thousand set down as the result of our industrial activity.

The business of the United States land office, where records

were available, exhibited a material increase in the sale of public lands, and, inferentially, a decided augmentation of settlers. At the branch mint the miners had deposited one million ninety-two thousand six hundred dollars' worth of gold bullion, an increase of one hundred and twenty-five thousand one hundred and fifty-two dollars over the deposits of the previous year. The business of the postoffice showed a marked advance. The receipts of the Denver Pacific railway in freight amounted to eighty-seven million seven hundred and thirty-one thousand five hundred and thirty pounds, including the coal traffic of the Boulder Valley road. In the same period the freight receipts of the Kansas Pacific were sixty-nine million one hundred and thirty thousand three hundred and seventy-three pounds.

That there ensued a pronounced increase of wealth and population is indicated by the growth of towns and cities, and the number of farms put under cultivation. In Boulder, Golden, Colorado Springs, Cañon City, and especially at Denver and Pueblo, the movement was remarkable. From a summary published in the "Chieftain" at the close of 1871, the following data, showing the development of Pueblo in that year, are extracted :

The number of buildings erected was one hundred and seven, of which twenty were brick, thirty-three frame, and fifty-one of adobe. The cost of these structures amounted to two hundred and fifteen thousand seven hundred and sixty dollars. The freight receipts aggregated nearly five million pounds. Four hundred thousand pounds of wool were purchased by local dealers. Also six hundred and thirty-eight thousand dollars' worth of merchandise. Half a million bricks were made to meet the demands of the builders. There were two hundred and sixty-one transfers of real estate, the value, as expressed in the conveyances, being one hundred and thirty-three thousand two hundred and six dollars and fifty cents. The U. S. land office sold eighty thousand seven hundred and nineteen acres of government land. While these figures are but an outline, they denote progress, since in prior years there had been no activity at all in real estate, and only a

turbid flow in the channels of commerce. But the railways had quickened the arteries by infusing new blood into them, and this is the evidence of it. It was manifest on every hand in a thousand ways. It was observable all along the lines, but most apparent at the terminals of the iron thoroughfares.

While dealing with the statistics of the time it is interesting to glance over the report of the Territorial Auditor, Major J. B. Thompson, for the year 1870, which shows a total of revenue receipts from the entire Territory for the biennial term, of eighty-eight thousand five hundred and twenty-nine dollars and eight cents. The Treasurer's report gives an epitome of the expenditures of the Territory from the date of its organization in 1861 to the close of 1871, amounting to two hundred and twenty-nine thousand one hundred and ninety-five dollars and eighty-six cents. At the close of 1871 the accounts showed a balance of cash on hand amounting to fifty-five thousand one hundred and four dollars and thirty-two cents.

The assessed valuation of property for that year was \$24,112,-078.37. The expenses for the biennial term of 1872-3 were estimated at \$85,387.42, or \$42,693.71 per annum. The resources for the term were placed at \$194,743.32, of which sixty per cent. was unavailable, being delinquent taxes which could not be collected.

The assessed valuation of property in Arapahoe county for the year 1871 was \$9,058,405. The increase of valuation in the Territory over 1870 was \$7,334,073.37, of which \$4,351,524, or more than one-half, was in Arapahoe County. The counties paying the largest proportions of territorial revenue were Arapahoe, Gilpin, Clear Creek, Pueblo, Jefferson, Boulder and Weld.

Ralph Meeker wrote the New York "Standard" in January, 1872, concerning the transformations effected in 1871, the first year of the second decade, and of the new era, as follows :

"Pages might be written of the improvements that mark the year 1871. Twelve years ago Colorado had only a few miserable cabins, with scarcely a house between the Missouri River and the Snowy

Range, while an unbroken wilderness stretched from the north pole down to the cathedrals of old Mexico. The schoolboys can well remember when the postage on a single letter was twenty-five cents; when flour sold for one hundred dollars a sack; when thirty-five thousand people fled from Denver as from a pestilence; when Colorado was a desert covered with dead men's bones. To-day the trains of five railroads glide in and out of this wonderful city. Well may its people point to the beautiful buildings, to the Union depot, the newspaper offices, the banks, and churches, and schools, and to the new civilization which is springing up under the shadows of these sublime mountains. Its founders need no monuments to carry their memories into the coming years. Neither storm nor flood can obliterate the footprints of Green Russell, the discoverer, and the day is approaching when Byers and Evans, and Moffat, and their coadjutors shall stand higher than Cæsar or Alexander. Sesostris chiseled his royal name in the temples of Egypt, but one greater than Sesostris has blasted the name 'Gregory' into the walls of the Rocky Mountains."

In no other department was the advance made during the early stages of the railway epoch more manifest than in the development of the public schools. If popular education be the corner stone and guide of modern civilization, it has found out here in the wilds of Colorado some of its noblest exemplifications. Up to this period the growth, while steady, had not in the matter of management been wholly satisfactory. It was evident that the system needed a strong, forceful head to organize and conduct; to harmonize the discordant elements that had somehow crept in, and resolve the whole into an orderly, methodical and smoothly running machine.

Wilbur C. Lothrop was elected county superintendent of schools in the autumn of 1869, and in 1870, by virtue of his developed capabilities was appointed by the Governor, Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction, which enlarged the field of action and gave him ample opportunities for the display of his organizing abilities. His report rendered in 1871-72 was a lengthy and carefully prepared docu-

ment, giving in tabulated form the vital statistics of the schools throughout the Territory, accompanied by suggestions and recommendations respecting their improvement through amendments to existing laws. It is unnecessary to go into detail, but a glance at some of the figures presented, will indicate the status of educational affairs at the opening of this decade, whence by wise and capable direction and the munificent liberality of our people in providing every essential requisite for the purpose, has been evolved one of the grandest structures built upon American soil, the pride of our own citizens, and the admiration of all contemporaries.

Mr. Lothrop gives the number of persons of school age in 1871 at 7,742, an increase of 1,325 over the previous year. The number of school districts was one hundred and sixty, an increase of fifty in the same period. In 1871 the number of male pupils was 2,324, and the average attendance, 1,477; female pupils, 2,033—average attendance, 1,134. The number of teachers employed was 164, eighty male and eighty-four female. The average salary of male teachers was sixty-nine dollars per month, and of the female fifty-four dollars.

In 1870 there were sixty-eight schoolhouses in the Territory, and in 1871 there were eighty. The aggregate value of school property in 1870 was \$66,106.55, and in 1871, \$82,574.05. The average rate of school tax levied was four and one-tenth mills. The total amount of school fund raised in 1870 was \$64,839.39, and in 1871, \$81,274.02. The amount expended in 1870, was \$53,763.14, and in 1871, \$67,395.48.

Of the amount of school fund collected, Arapahoe County contributed \$29,049.80; Gilpin, \$14,032.93; Jefferson, \$6,238.29; Pueblo, \$5,999.32; Boulder, \$4,871.19; El Paso, \$4,776.78; Weld, \$4,409.48; Larimer, \$4,119.56; and Clear Creek, \$2,785.46. The other counties furnished less than \$2,000 each.

The corner stone of the Arapahoe street school building, the first of the series of splendid structures erected in Denver and elsewhere throughout the Territory, was laid June 24th, 1872, and was made the occasion for an imposing demonstration. All the school children, the

police, fire department, civic societies, the supreme judges, members of the bar, city and county officials, Odd Fellows and Masons, the Grand Lodge of the latter body escorted by the Knights Templar in full uniform and mounted, with a long line of citizens in carriages, was a gathering that evinced the depth and breadth of popular interest in the event.

The corner stone was cemented in its place with Masonic ceremonies, conducted by Webster D. Anthony, Deputy Grand Master of Colorado. The metallic box inserted in the cavity prepared for it, contained much historical matter relating to the city and Territory, of which few, if any copies now exist, and which, could it be recovered and utilized, would add important interest to these chronicles. Judge H. P. H. Bromwell, a man pre-eminently qualified to do full justice to the subject, delivered the oration.

Three of the lots occupied by this building were donated to the local Board for school purposes, by Amos Steck. Five others were purchased by the Board for the sum of three thousand five hundred dollars. In November, 1872, bonds to the amount of seventy-five thousand dollars, bearing ten per cent. interest and running five years, were issued to complete the improvements projected. The Arapahoe street school was regarded as a fine model for the time, but has since been so improved upon in matters of architecture and conveniences as to render it wholly obsolete. It was sold in 1889, and the site given up to business purposes.

The reader who has patiently followed us thus far, will not fail to discover in the data given, the remarkable stimulus imparted to every element of our internal economy by the recent introduction of steam power. As a further example, showing the trend of public sentiment as expressed in legislative action, let us glance hurriedly over the appropriations enumerated in the draft of a bill reported by the Committee on Appropriations to the Assembly in the session of 1871-72. It will serve to illustrate the difference between the cost of the Territorial and State governments, if no other important purpose.

The items covered everything for which the Territory was responsible, omitting of course the per diem and mileage allowances by the Federal government, the salaries of the Governor, Secretary, Judges and other Federal officers. It should also be stated in this connection, that the Territory allowed each of the three Justices of the Supreme court, two thousand dollars per annum in addition to the pay given them by congressional law. The fixed and estimated charges given below were for the biennial term.

For the pay of officers and members of the Legislature, \$13,500 ; salaries of the Supreme Court, \$12,000 ; salaries of Territorial officers, \$16,200 ; District Attorneys \$4,100, and for penitentiary expenses, \$30,000. The last item provoked much acrid discussion. The capacity of the prison was only equal to the accommodation of thirty-nine prisoners. The United States owned it, and demanded one dollar per day, or three hundred and sixty-five dollars per annum for subsisting each Territorial prisoner confined therein. While the protests against these exorbitant demands were loud and deep, there was no relief.

The sums allowed the various Territorial officers for contingent expenses, were—the Auditor, \$800 ; Treasurer, \$500 ; Adjutant General, \$400 ; Librarian, \$1,200 ; Superintendent of Public Instruction, \$500 ; Governor, \$600 ; support of lunatic paupers in the common jails, for we had no asylum, \$5,000 ; Legislative printing, \$2,650 ; Legislative newspapers, \$200 ; Legislative postage, \$200 ; other incidental expenses, \$400 ; a safe for the Treasurer, \$800 ; storing Territorial arms, \$500 ; making a total of \$89,550 for two years, or \$44,775 per annum.

In addition there were special appropriations for the Board of Immigration, maintenance of deaf mutes, etc., aggregating \$22,630 which, added to the general appropriations, made a total of \$112,180.

The Rocky Mountain "News" in commenting upon the apparent extravagance of these appropriations, and undoubtedly appalled by their magnitude, addressed the Assembly in these words : "Gentlemen of the Assembly, these are large figures, and we beg of you to consider them well ; as you value your reputations as loyal and intelligent legislators

do not increase them by the amount of a single dollar." Under the pressure of public opinion the sum total was finally pruned down to about \$100,000. The curious may find interesting employment by comparing these expenditures with those of the Assembly of 1889 for example, but in doing so they should make due allowance for the vast difference in taxable property, population, and the needs attending the greater development.

The treasury statement showed a surplus of cash on hand amounting to fifty-five thousand dollars. As the fixed and estimated charges were only about fifty thousand per annum, the Legislature wisely provided that no tax should be levied in 1872, and that the assessment for 1873 should not exceed one and a half mills. Our assemblies of the olden time may have been slow, but they were forced to be economical. It is safe to say that the precedent thus established is without parallel in the history of Colorado, and that we shall never see its like again.

But everything seemed to be launched on the highway of a long season of unbroken prosperity. The few clouds bore silver linings. The mines were productive, railways were being extended in every direction, capital and immigration poured in, and many new industries were established.

The Legislature of 1872 passed an act providing for a Bureau of Immigration, the first and only measure of the kind that has ever been recorded among our statutes. The Governor appointed Jacob F. L. Schirmer and E. P. Hollister of Arapahoe, David C. Collier of Gilpin, Joseph M. Sherwood of Larimer, and A. W. Archibald of Las Animas, a Board of Commissioners. George T. Clark, Territorial Librarian, was chosen Secretary, and executed a large part of the labor involved. The commissioners met on the 20th of February following, and defined a plan of procedure. They were required to adopt and execute such measures as would best promote immigration to Colorado, and to collate, publish and disseminate information relating to the resources of the country. Each member of the commission assumed such branch of the work as he was best qualified to execute. In due

time a very creditable pamphlet was issued, and widely distributed. As a result the increase of immigration was very large, too great in fact for the Board to manage. As no proper steps had been taken to locate the new arrivals in places where they were needed ; where the farmers could be placed upon vacant lands, mechanics furnished employment and the miscellaneous element disposed of, they were in the main left to shift for themselves.

The sum appropriated was insufficient to meet the demands of the overwhelming tide, therefore great confusion, intense disgust and a general retreat ensued. Such effects are liable to follow wholesale invitations without adequate preparation for the consequences. In reports such as this Board issued, the lustrous side of the picture is always presented. None of its shadows are seen. But all Boards of Immigration take the same course, in the belief that unless the attractions are floridly colored they will not be seen, or if seen, passed by unheeded. In this instance hordes of immigrants of all avocations arrived, but were not directed into channels where employment could be found, hence the universal dissatisfaction. It is better to have no Board of Immigration at all, better not to waste time and money in advertising and entreating unless proper avenues are opened and the way cleared for such worthy people as may respond and are disposed to remain. As a consequence of the disappointment arising from this effort to awaken a great tide of immigration to Colorado, the Territory was vindictively denounced from one end of the Union to the other, and for years thereafter, indeed until the proclamation of the great discoveries at Leadville in 1878-79, we were almost wholly debarred from doing any advertising at all.

At the municipal election held in April, 1872, Joseph E. Bates, who for many years had been identified with public affairs, as a member of the City Council and the Legislative Assembly, and well qualified to accurately measure the drift of events and to meet the requirements of the new development, was chosen Mayor of Denver. Realizing the deplorable lack of public improvements, and that an advance commensurate with the rapid growth in all other directions should be made, his

inaugural address contained numerous recommendations for such improvements, which, with the hearty co-operation of the council were put into execution as fast as the limited funds at their disposal would permit. The Mayor elect strenuously urged among other things, the laying of sidewalks, the few we had being sadly in need of repair, and their extension from the business center to the residence streets, where there were none. But few of the streets were graded, and these received early attention. The erection of public buildings, the purchase of lands for public parks, the organization of police, fire and health departments, was insisted upon. One of the first acts of his administration was to order a thorough cleansing of the streets and alleys. New ordinances in regard to gas, water and sewerage were earnestly advocated. In brief, Mayor Bates gave early evidence of executive ability of a high order, and during his term of office many improvements were added. While not all were wholly supplied, the police, and fire and health departments were organized and equipped for greater usefulness, the public thoroughfares vastly improved, and the basis laid for the present efficient methods.

It is not only singular but astonishing that, with the opportunities at the disposal of the original town companies of East and West Denver, not a single acre nor fraction of land in all the broad areas of their respective town sites was set aside for a public park. Now that we need them, now that the city has grown far beyond the anticipations and predictions of its founders, we are lost in amazement at the greediness or want of foresight which induced the platting of two great towns without the slightest provision for the resorts which every community should have, and which when supplied are unmixed blessings to invalids and the toiling classes who seek them as inviting retreats from the heat and dust of the summer months. Even at the time when Mayor Bates took up the matter though late, a more liberal spirit might have accomplished such reservations. Land, though greatly enhanced in value, was nevertheless extremely cheap compared with present values. Still nothing could be done, because the city had no funds that could be applied to

such purposes. The people, dreading taxation and abhorring the idea of a municipal debt, would not give their consent to an issue of bonds. And so it has gone on from year to year. For the want of timely action the opportunity has passed away forever. It seems extraordinary, also, that nearly every proposed expenditure for public improvement—the Holly water system, the gas works, the paid fire department, uniformed and disciplined police, the board of health, fire steamers, the patrol wagon, the erection of a city hall—were all accomplished under serious opposition. Even the Court House, which as soon as built became a source of universal pride, was erected where it stands under a whirlwind of disapproval. It can be accounted for by no other course of reasoning than that the rigid, almost Puritanical conservatism of the people impelled them to move slowly and keep out of debt rather than to advance rapidly under heavy burdens of taxation. It is ascribable in some degree, also, to the long stress of patient economy which they had been forced to practice for the want of means to afford the luxuries. The little wealth they possessed had been acquired by hard work, literally by the sweat of their brows. All the pioneers came here poor, and every dollar they earned had to be applied to some new want of their condition. Again, very few were over-sanguine of the future. This is indicated by the character of their buildings, the modesty of their dwellings, and by the close economy everywhere observable.

I have heard the sage predictions of some of our most enterprising and loyal business men, that some day in the distant future Denver would probably attain a population of fifty thousand. This was the utmost limit of their aspirations. The man who soared to the anticipation of one hundred thousand was considered a fit subject for a lunatic asylum. Men dreamed of a city of fifty thousand souls as if it were a remote possibility, but there they drew the line. There are some among our rich men of to-day, made opulent through the phenomenal expansion of things, who have no more faith in the future than they had twenty years ago. It is the optimists that have built the town.

When the State constitution of 1876 was framed, it was a constant struggle to discover the least expensive methods of instituting and conducting an independent government. Salaries and every other element touching financial questions—in other words, that looked to an increase of expenditures from the economical base to which the taxpayers had been so long accustomed, were rigidly scrutinized, and in revising thoroughly pruned, so that when the instrument was sent to the people for approval, it was commended as the best and cheapest arrangement that could be made. Pending the election, the newspapers devoted to the change paid special attention to the economic questions, arguing incessantly to convince their readers that while the State would, undeniably, be a trifle more expensive than the Territory, the difference would be made up by immigration and railroads, the increase of taxable property and so forth, so that the rate of assessment would not be increased. Though the sentiment of the time was rather more favorable than it had been in 1864-65, the charter of 1876 was by no means enthusiastically accepted.

With these facts in mind, the reader will readily comprehend the difficulty of the undertaking which Mayor Bates assumed when he proposed to lift the city of Denver out of its normal condition of an overgrown village to the plane of a great inland metropolis. He saw the need of broad and liberal plans for the coming years, possibly foresaw something of the development that fifteen years later made this the focus of wonderful enterprises, and so far as he might be able, intended to keep the municipal machinery abreast of, if not in advance of the time. But it was not until his second administration in 1885, however, that he was enabled to carry out more fully the conceptions formed in 1872.

Thus we find after an experience of nearly thirty years, many deficiencies in our municipal system that should have been supplied in the formative stages. The one fatal error for which future generations will not forgive the first, was its failure to provide public parks. The historian of to-day can scarcely write of this subject without intense

deprecation of the omission. He cannot divest his mind of the feeling that a little generosity in the early days would have made Denver not only a more beautiful city, but infinitely more inviting to the multitudes of invalids and strangers who come here for health or pleasure. While it is true that we have now two quite extensive parks, they are so distant from the heart of the city and have been so little improved as to be almost a reflection upon, instead of a credit to the city government. This too, is an outgrowth of the morbid fear of a public debt.

It was in the year 1872 that Henry M. Stanley, now the most noted explorer of modern times, plunged into the wilds of Central Africa under orders from the New York "Herald," to discover if possible the great Scotch traveler, Dr. Livingstone. Stanley was known to many in Denver, and in some of the numerous towns of Colorado. Naturally talented, possessed of a fair education, but ambitious, restless, and passionately fond of drifting from place to place in search of adventure, he wandered out here in 1866, and visited nearly all the prominent towns in the Territory, writing his impressions of them to the Eastern press. He accompanied General Hancock's expedition to the Indian country in 1867 as correspondent of the St. Louis "Democrat" which he kept supplied with interesting details of that rather inglorious campaign.

When Hancock retired to the eastward Stanley came on to Denver, remaining a week or two; then aspiring to the accomplishment of a feat which many had attempted, but few succeeded in executing, he procured a skiff ten or twelve feet long, filled one end with provisions, and seating himself in the other, launched his frail bark on the treacherous bosom of the Platte with the avowed intention of sailing clear through to the Missouri River. He endured great hardships in the perilous journey, as did all of the many who had rashly entered upon similar undertakings; was, according to his own account, repeatedly fired upon by hostile Indians, but escaped unhurt, and finally made his way to St. Louis, where an elaborate description of his adventures was prepared for and published in the "Democrat."

We next hear of him in Omaha as a reporter on one of the newspapers of that city. Shortly afterward he fell violently in love with a captivating variety actress who lured him on, and after a time, jilted him. Stanley suffered deeply from this desertion, for it appears to have been an honest affection, and soon re-commenced his wanderings, stopping nowhere more than a few days or weeks. A short time afterward the actress came to Denver. Stanley at length engaged as correspondent of the New York "Herald," and was ordered to London, where he was assigned to General Napier's expedition against King Theodore of Abyssinia. This mission concluded, he volunteered to penetrate the jungles of Africa in search of Dr. Livingstone.

The first anniversary meeting of the Fountain Colony Company was held at Colorado Springs the first week in August, 1872. General Wm. J. Palmer presided, and many congratulatory speeches were delivered upon the progress made and prospects for the future.

When the first locomotive of the Denver & Rio Grande road reached this point, but a single house marked the spot, and that a small log cabin with mud chinked sides and a dirt roof owned and devoted to hotel purposes, or rather of an eating station, by Captain Richard Sopris, who, as these chronicles show, was one of the most conspicuous of the Colorado pioneers. His name appears at every stage of our early annals. He was associated with nearly every prominent event, since he took part in most of the movements of historical interest; in the organization of numerous mining camps, the formation of local governments, in Denver, Auraria, Central City, Gregory, Jackson, in the San Juan country, and in the gallant record made by the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers. And now at the initial stage of Colorado Springs we find him located at the very head of the corner.

Colorado City had sunken into ruin, and the glories of Manitou were yet to be sung. But the spirit of progress evoked by the railway soon quickened the dormant forces of nature into splendid achievements. It was discovered by the builders that here lay the foundation of a great popular resort. The springs were among the finest known, the envi-

ronment wonderfully charming. They saw, as Fitzhugh Ludlow prophesied years before, that here was to be the chosen resort of invalids, tourists, pleasure seekers, wealth and culture from every land. So they prepared for it. Unlike the Union Pacific in its inexplicable neglect of Idaho Springs, which by the judicious and timely expenditure of a few thousands might have been made a mountain paradise, they bestowed their funds liberally in planning and perfecting a system of drives, building elegant hotels and in every way beautifying this lovely retreat. What a marvelous harvest the company has reaped from these generous contributions made at the proper time. By the same process Idaho might have been rendered equally charming, but it was withheld. What has been done toward the embellishment of this attractive valley is the work of private capital and enterprise. The railroad company has had no part in it. We are inclined to be indignant with a corporation which had so much to gain, which might have added so much to the development of this resort by the exercise of a little open handed liberality, but which almost tyrannically denied all sympathy, giving no sign of appreciation or encouragement. While the Rio Grande has made Manitou and Colorado Springs famous throughout Christendom, by a wisely ordered system of advertising, and has brought thousands from abroad to the enjoyment of the rich prospect, and the social life established there, Idaho, no less worthy, is comparatively unknown.

General Palmer selected for his summer residence one of the most enchanting and romantic glens in all the wonderful formations in the neighborhood of the Garden of the Gods, built a beautiful home there, and called it "Glen Eyrie." This, too, proved a wise investment, for the tourist might as well not visit Manitou at all as to miss the grandeur of Glen Eyrie.

The town site of Colorado Springs embraced seventy blocks four hundred feet square. The contract for the first hotel was let August 1st, 1871. Contracts for the Fountain and Monument irrigating canals were let August 4th of the same year. The first private resi-

dence was put under construction August 15th. At the close of 1871, the Secretary's books showed that one hundred and ninety-seven memberships had been sold, two hundred and seventy-seven town lots disposed of at a gross valuation of twenty-four thousand dollars, with three hundred and seventy acres of farming land at a valuation of eleven thousand three hundred and fifty-nine dollars and ninety cents, making a total of thirty-six thousand and fifty-nine dollars and ninety cents, for lots and lands sold at the prices put upon them anterior to settlement.

The number of houses that had been erected in the town to the date of Secretary Pabor's report, was one hundred and fifty-nine. Contracts for fifteen others were then in the hands of builders. The total population was estimated at seven hundred and ninety-five, and the value of the buildings erected by individuals at one hundred and sixty thousand dollars.

An excellent weekly newspaper had been founded. Many prosperous business houses and two churches had been built, a free reading room opened, and a contract for a fine public school building given out. Nineteen miles of canals two and a half feet deep and six feet wide had been excavated, which, with the seven miles additional then in progress, would place all the colony lands under irrigation. Something over thirteen miles of lateral canals had been put through the town, seven miles of shade trees planted, four quite extensive public parks laid out containing a combined area of one hundred and eight acres, and the educational interests of the future provided for by liberal reservations for free schools, academies and colleges.

These founders builded more wisely, perhaps, than they knew, but in preparing for the future they left nothing undone calculated to enhance the beauty and prosperity of the place. As a consequence, Colorado Springs has become in the brief space of eighteen years one of the most admirable of Western towns, the home of thousands of happy and prosperous people.

The Fort Collins military reservation, established as a protection

to settlers during the Indian wars, was relinquished by the government and thrown open to homestead and pre-emption entries in 1872, under the provisions of an act of Congress approved May 15th of that year. July 30th General W. H. Lessig, Surveyor-General of Colorado, was instructed to complete the plats of survey and transmit diagrams of the same to the proper local land office, preparatory to the disposal of these lands to settlers as provided in the act mentioned. The reservation occupied an extensive and very fertile tract on the Cache la Poudre River, or Creek, about four and a half miles from the mountains and twenty-five from Greeley, in one of the most attractive valleys of Northern Colorado, with abundant water for irrigation, and power for manufactures, when the time should come for its utilization in that branch of industry. The site on which the town is located commands a superb view of the mountains. The State Agricultural College, an institute that has accomplished more for the proper guidance of farmers, and toward the successful development of agriculture and horticulture, than all other influences combined, is located there.

The climate and soil of this region are unexcelled, the crops among the most abundant produced in any portion of the State. The colony located here was organized on substantially the same basis as that at Greeley and Colorado Springs. General R. A. Cameron, the veteran organizer and director of the greater part of our prosperous colonies, was chosen President and Superintendent, and W. E. Pabor Secretary and Treasurer. The Vice-President was J. C. Matthews; the trustees were Judge Hawes, ex-Sheriff Brush, Judge J. M. Sherwood, B. H. Eaton—afterward Governor of Colorado—Sheriff Mason, Norman H. Meldrum—afterward Lieutenant Governor—E. W. Whitcomb and B. T. Whedbee. Under rightly directed influences this colony has developed into a strong and prosperous center of trade. At each recurring season bountiful harvests have rewarded the husbandman, and it seems destined to be one of the larger towns of the State.

The Colony Company secured one-half of the town lots and

suburban lands adjoining the town proper, owned by the Larimer County Land Improvement Company, for the purpose of holding in trust the lands lying adjacent to the agricultural college for the use and benefit of actual settlers ; also for the purpose of making rapid development of the country, thereby giving to each fixed settler co-operative participation in the gains derivable from the enhancement of real values from existing prices. Upon a broad and enlightened public policy, aided by a thrifty and enterprising people, Fort Collins has made great advances. It has two railroads, with the prospect of one or two more in the near future. In the near vicinity have been developed numerous extensive quarries of fine building and paving stone, whence several towns in Colorado, and many in neighboring States draw much of their building material.

Toward the last of January, 1872, a meeting of the pioneers of 1858-59 was held in Cutler's Hall in the city of Denver, to advise concerning the expediency of organizing an association for social entertainment, the exercise of a broader charity toward the more unfortunate of the guild, for the collection of historical data and interesting reminiscences, and with the view of providing for the greater comfort of the destitute, and for the interment of the dead. A. H. Barker presided, and O. J. Goldrick was chosen Secretary. Mr. Wm. N. Byers, in an address of some length, proposed the formation of a strong cohesive association similar to that of the forty-niners of California, having for one of its chief purposes the perpetuation of the early history of the Pike's Peak region ; the preparation of a system of records containing the names and, so far as possible, the discoveries and noteworthy exploits of the pioneers ; the adoption of a symbol or badge for identification of the early explorers from the common herd of tenderfeet, annual reunions and banquets, and the cementing of fraternal ties between those who had borne honorable parts in the annals of the country.

A few days later, all needful preliminaries having been arranged, an adjourned meeting was held in the same place, sixty pioneers

being present, when a constitution, with appropriate by-laws, rules and regulations, was adopted. The organization was perfected by the election of the following officers :

President, Hiram P. Bennett ; Vice-Presidents, Dr. J. H. Morrison and Richard Sopris ; Secretary, William N. Byers ; Treasurer, F. Z. Salomon ; Marshal, John L. Dailey. The Board of Trustees comprised the officers named, with James M. Broadwell and John Armor. The society thus united exists to the present day, but its rules were subsequently modified to embrace all who came to the country prior to 1861. It is an honorable and a devoted brotherhood, extending its beneficences to the living, and paying the last honors to its dead. As in the Grand Army of the Republic, the sword of death cuts great gaps in its ranks each year, and soon the record will be closed forever.

Colorado has been visited by many distinguished men, statesmen, soldiers, authors and scientists in its time, but down to the latest period embraced in this volume, it has been honored by the presence of but one representative of royalty. On the 23d of January, 1872, the Grand Duke Alexis, youngest son of Emperor Alexander of Russia, with a numerous retinue, arrived in Denver. The enthusiastic greeting accorded the son of that distinguished ruler in New York and wherever he traveled, was simply an expression by the people of the Northern States of their appreciation of the steadfast friendliness of Russia to the cause of the Union during the war. Therefore, Alexis was literally overwhelmed with courtesies and ovations from the beginning to the close of his American tour.

But that portion of the trip which was most enjoyable to him was the grand buffalo hunt on the Western plains under the pilotage of "Buffalo Bill"—W. F. Cody—and Generals Sheridan and Custer. This concluded, they came on to Denver for a view of the Rocky Mountains. The party was met at Cheyenne by Governor McCook, ex-Governor Evans, Mayor Bates, Col. George E. Randolph, Judge James B. Belford and others. The Grand Duke was accompanied by

his tutor, Admiral Possuet, Count Olsenfieff, Consul General Bodisco, Count Starlingoff, Lieutenant Tudur of the Imperial Navy, a correspondent of the New York "Herald," and a number of servants.

General Sheridan's staff consisted of General George A. Forsythe and Col. M. V. Sheridan, aides de camp, General George A. Custer and General Sweitzer. The day following their arrival, the party was driven about the city in carriages, and in the evening "a grand ducal ball" was given in the dining room of the American House. After as thorough an examination as could be made in the limited time at their disposal, of the principal features of the town, they visited Golden City where they were entertained by the officers of the Colorado Central Railway Company. After two days in this region, the Grand Duke and suite departed via the Kansas Pacific for St. Louis, Memphis and New Orleans.

During the year 1872, the mining sections of the San Juan Mountains were heavily peopled, through the discovery of many very rich gold and silver mines. Though several attempts had previously been made to effect a permanent lodgment in that country, no material success was gained until the year of which we write. The loftiness of the altitude, the length and severity of the winters, the great difficulty of taking in supplies, and perhaps more than all, the enormous expense of transporting heavy goods, as machinery for mining and reduction over the rocky and rugged ranges, rendered the experiment unusually hazardous. The placer mines never yielded large amounts of gold, and though the lodes and ledges were strong, well defined and extremely valuable, for the reasons stated, no considerable progress toward opening them was possible. How those people clung to the region through so many years before the extension of the Rio Grande railroad to Durango and Silverton afforded them egress for their ores and ingress for supplies, is almost inexplicable. That they did not revel in luxury we know, but the puzzle is how the great majority managed to subsist at all under the trying conditions of their complete isolation. But after the railroad was built and a new era begun, many of those

who toiled, and fasted, and suffered every deprivation save absolute starvation, reaped the reward of their courage and tenacity. To-day the San Juan region, embracing the counties of Ouray, Dolores, San Juan, La Plata and San Miguel, is one of the most extensive and productive mineral bearing sections of the State, where several large towns have been built, and from whence a considerable part of our more valuable gold and silver ores are obtained for the smelters of Denver and Pueblo. A full geological and statistical review of this and all other mining divisions of the State will appear in the second volume of this work.

CHAPTER XXX.

ORGANIZATION, LOCATION AND EARLY HISTORY OF UNION COLONY—VISIT OF N. C. MEEKER—ATTEMPT TO LOCATE IN THE SOUTH PARK—ARRIVAL OF HORACE GREELEY—FATE OF THE FIRST AND ONLY SALOON EVER OPENED IN GREELEY—CARL WULSTEN'S COLONY IN THE WET MOUNTAIN VALLEY—REVIEW OF IRRIGATION—TREE PLANTING AND FRUIT CULTURE—THE CHICAGO-COLORADO COLONY ESTABLISH LONGMONT—COLORADO WHEAT AND FLOUR IN THE EAST.

The period in which many tracts of public land in Colorado were colonized, resulting in the happy settlement of several thrifty, industrious and well ordered communities, and the development of some of the finest towns in the commonwealth, began in 1869-70. The movement was inaugurated by Mr. N. C. Meeker, agricultural editor of the New York "Tribune," under the advice and patronage of Horace Greeley, who evinced a lively interest in the drift of emigration to the westward. Mr. Meeker came to the Territory in the summer of 1869 with a small party of journalists and others interested in the project, and after a general examination of the country, being deeply enamored of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and lost in admiration of the fruits produced by farmers already located here, conceived the plan of establishing a modest colony of fifty or sixty families at some point where an abundance of good land could be pre-empted or purchased, and supplied with water for irrigation. Traveling in the mountains so fascinated Meeker that he had about decided to locate his proposed colony in the southeasterly edge of the South Park, but after advising with Mr. Wm. N. Byers, who comprehended that such a selection would result disastrously, finally, but with some reluctance, abandoned this idea, and was led to consider favorably the site subse-

quently located upon. Mr. Byers attended most of the original colony meetings in New York, and assisted largely in the preliminary organization, and the movement for the ultimate location. A number of settlers, among them Peter Winne and David Barnes, had some years previous taken up a part of the lands on the Cache la Poudre, and were then cultivating them. Mr. Byers strongly urged Meeker to allow them to remain, as his people would gather much information from their experience, but Meeker insisted on buying them out, and did so.

But without reaching a definite conclusion as to a location, though many sections were examined, the party returned to New York, where Meeker made a full report of his observations in the West, and outlined his contemplated enterprise. Mr. Greeley, delighted with the prospect, entered most ardently into the scheme, authorizing his agricultural editor to make free use of the columns of the "Tribune" in bringing the matter to public notice. The call for volunteers was published in the latter part of December, 1869, and in a short time no less than eight hundred responses were received. A meeting was held at Cooper Institute, New York, December 23d, when Union Colony was formally organized, and the major details perfected. Mr. Meeker was chosen President; Gen. R. A. Cameron, Vice-President, and Horace Greeley, Treasurer. A locating committee consisting of N. C. Meeker, General Cameron, and A. C. Fisk was appointed, and, accompanied by Mr. H. T. West, came out to the Territory to select a location,

On the 5th of April, 1870, the following telegram was sent to New York: "Union Colony No. 1 has located on the delta formed by the South Platte and the Cache la Poudre Rivers, and near the Denver Pacific Railroad." From a chronicle of the time we discover that the "first settlers arrived about the middle of May. On the future town site not a house, shanty, nor even a bush or twig was in sight excepting a fringe of trees bordering the Platte River. Besides these nothing was to be seen between the river and the foothills, twenty miles away,

but a vast rolling prairie covered with cactus and the short gramma grass of the region. The next year the assessed valuation of real and personal property in Greeley, was over four hundred thousand dollars, and to-day"—in the fall of 1886—"it is nearly one million, which represents far more in proportion than did the valuation of 1871."

At the outset sixty persons joined the association, each paying an initiation fee of five dollars and pledging themselves to pay one hundred and fifty dollars each at the call of the Treasurer, to be covered into a fund for the purchase of land. No member was permitted to buy more than one hundred and sixty acres. According to the statements contained in the responses to Mr. Meeker's circular, the total amount of wealth represented was something over a million dollars. Most of the trades, professions and pursuits were included, but the majority were farmers. Horace Greeley had lent the aid of his powerful name and benevolent countenance to the enterprise, and that was sufficient to attest its genuineness and worth. All New England, with many parts of New York, Ohio and Indiana became interested in the proposed colony. At the Cooper Institute meeting which was a very large gathering, many glowing speeches were made, and the entire proposition laid bare. General Cameron, after enlarging upon the location selected, and the prospects; the wonderful climate, the scenic beauty of the mountains and plains, the richness of the soil and the marvelous opportunities opened to the industrious settler, observed that what the colony needed first of all to insure success was a strong organization—and money. Said he, "I went to Indiana when it was a wilderness, and to Chicago when it was a mud hole, and now I want to go to Colorado. Nowhere else on the globe is there such a country as the West. The great mining region is to be developed, and when this is done a market will be created that cannot be overstocked."

In a compilation of data prepared for the advisement of the colonists we find the following information: "Milch cows are worth thirty-five to sixty-five dollars each; five year old steers, forty-five dollars; oxen, one hundred and ten to one hundred and twenty-five dollars per

yoke; saddle ponies, seventy-five dollars each; good farm horses, three hundred and fifty to five hundred dollars per span; mules, three fifty to four hundred and fifty per span; broken down stage horses, one hundred dollars each; lumber, thirty to forty dollars per thousand feet.

“Wheat is worth two and a half cents per pound; corn and oats the same; barley, four cents; flour, four fifty to six dollars per hundred pounds; butter, forty-five to fifty cents; potatoes, two to three cents per pound, and eggs thirty-five to forty cents per dozen. Farm laborers command from twenty-five to forty dollars per month with board; mechanics, five dollars per day without board; women as cooks and housekeepers, seven to ten dollars per week with board and room.”

The foregoing extract represents very fully and accurately the prices which then ruled in the towns on the plains and throughout the agricultural sections. In the mining districts somewhat higher rates prevailed.

The movement enlisted the attention of all who were disposed to emigrate. In every community there are many who, though comfortably situated, and, as the phrase goes, doing well, are nevertheless dissatisfied with moderate gains and slow progress; who are ever on the watch for an opportunity to change to new fields where greater promise is offered for rapid advancement. The spirits which long to venture out into the New West are awakened, but few consider the trials incident to the redemption of that mysterious region. To them it is a land flowing with milk and honey, filled with treasures to be had for the seeking, where ambition finds bountiful reward and industry countless wealth. On the bleak and dreary coasts of New England, climatic influences depress and discourage; the soil is hard and stubborn. Hence when the committee presented its attractive facts and figures, hundreds rose up and accepted the invitation to settle in Colorado.

About five hundred paid the initiation fees and signed the mem-

bership roll. The managers resolved at the outset that the colony should be entirely free from the sale and use of intoxicants, a pure, moral, sober and model community. Therefore they incorporated in its articles of association a clause prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquors. The colony was established on the stock basis, the lands being purchased from the common fund and held by Horace Greeley as trustee for the shareholders, who were to become owners in fee upon compliance with the conditions named in the contracts. There were town lots for the town dwellers, larger rural plats about the town, and farm lands outside of these, the plan contemplating a series of concentric circles with prices graduated according to location.

About the first of May, 1870, some fifty families had arrived via the Union Pacific and Denver Pacific railroads. They were not emigrants in the common acceptation of the term, but chiefly intelligent, well-to-do people, resolved to take up the work assigned them in the redemption of the wilderness, and to pursue it earnestly by the light given them. There were farmers, merchants, bankers, mechanics, each bringing such implements, stocks, and accessories of his particular avocation, as were needed for a beginning. Tents were set up for temporary shelter until more substantial structures could be supplied. By the last of the month at least four hundred people had been located in the new Acadia. As a rule they were content with the prospects as they found them, anticipating the nature of the site and its surroundings, the labor and sacrifice involved. A few whose minds had been filled with illusions, who perhaps had never been away from the comforts of a well established homestead, and wholly unfitted to endure the privations which now confronted them, became homesick and disgusted.

But the sturdy majority who had enlisted for the war, and were determined to see the end of it, threw off their coats, rolled up their sleeves and went to work, first of all, in building homes for their families, planting farms and gardens, setting out trees and shrubs, and then constructing a mighty canal. Mills were set up in the mountains to provide lumber for dwellings and other purposes, while orders for the

better class of building material were sent to Chicago. The entire summer and autumn of the first year were consumed in preparatory work. The officers and the Executive Committee having studied out and matured the plans, exerted themselves manfully in directing the movements of the multitude to the end that there should be no clashing of the elements, and that all might move together in harmony for the common good.

Notwithstanding these wisely ordered proceedings, some discontent was manifested. It would have been a miraculous event if all had been wholly satisfied with the arrangements made. Reports found their way into print here and elsewhere, that the colony was in a state of disintegration, and that its members were deserting it by scores. While it was true that some were grievously disappointed, and others unwilling to abide by the regulations, abandoned the enterprise, no very serious dissension occurred. Some objected to the method of dividing and apportioning lots and lands; others expected but failed to receive farms of one hundred and sixty acres immediately adjoining the town site, and still others complained because they had no shelter, and so on through the list. Again, there was a class who came with the view of speculating in lands and upon the necessities of the less fortunate colonists, but being checked by the rules of the association, broke out in maledictions upon the management, and finally shook the dust from their feet and departed, spreading evil tidings as they went. But the solid element, undismayed by the tempest, held sturdily to the main purpose, convinced that the mission they had undertaken would eventuate to their lasting advantage. Every day some progress marked their patriotic endeavors. They built the canals, went into the mountains and sawed out lumber, established brick yards, attended to every duty incumbent upon them, wrought patiently upon every problem of the situation during the week, and on Sundays went piously to church wherever it might be held, whether in a tent or in the open air, sung the good old hymns, and worshiped God fervently as they had been taught. Such were the people that made Union Colony.

The projectors secured by purchase from the Denver Pacific Railroad Company nine thousand three hundred and twenty-four acres, and from individual owners two thousand five hundred and ninety-two acres, for which, including the Land office fees for preliminary occupation of sixty thousand acres of public land, they paid fifty-nine thousand nine hundred and seventy dollars. Drafts in payment were drawn upon Horace Greeley, Treasurer, by Meeker and Cameron. They had a contract also with the Denver Pacific company which allowed them to purchase at any time within three years from May 1st, 1870, fifty thousand acres, to be selected by the officers of the colony within certain bounds, at prices ranging between three dollars and three fifty per acre.

Members who were willing to take eighty acres of government land, commencing at a distance of about four miles from the town site for their memberships, were allowed to take an additional and adjoining eighty acres of railroad land by paying the colony the cost of the same at the time of purchase, or three dollars per acre, until May 1st, 1871—water for irrigation to go with the land.

A member was entitled to a lot of land as he might select, of five, ten, twenty, forty or more acres up to the largest number the colony could give any one for his hundred and fifty dollars, depending on the distance from the town site. Improvements had to be made upon outlying tracts within one year from the date of the location of the colony lands, viz.: April 5th, 1870, to entitle the person to a deed, unless the same person purchased a town lot and improved that to the satisfaction of the Executive Committee—water for irrigation to be furnished by the latter. The colony dug the ditches, each member being assessed his proportionate share of the cost of keeping them in repair. The estimated cost of the canals was twenty thousand dollars.

Members were also entitled to town lots for residence or business purposes, either or both, at the minimum price of fifty dollars for corners, and twenty-five dollars for inside lots, deeds to be given when they entered upon them in good faith to the satisfaction of the Execu-

tive Committee. The funds derived from the sale of town lots were devoted to public improvements. In the beginning there were twelve hundred and twenty-four lots ; for residence six hundred, and for business four hundred and eighty-three, the remainder being reserved for schools, churches, courthouse and town hall.

By virtue of their corporate organization, the members of the colony controlled the municipal and all other affairs pertaining to local government. Mr. Meeker received as compensation for his services, while actively engaged in colony work, a salary of one hundred and sixty dollars per month ; his son, Ralph Meeker, as assistant secretary, fifty dollars per month, and General R. A. Cameron, Vice-President and Superintendent, who received and located the colonists as they arrived, seven dollars per day.

By the end of the first month the colony had three general provision stores, two bakeries, a like number of meat markets, one hotel, a boarding house, a blind, sash and paint shop, an artist's studio, a bank, postoffice, a railway depot, and a telegraph station. Much of the lumber used in the better class of buildings was brought from Chicago at a cost of thirty-eight dollars per thousand feet. Hundreds of fruit and forest trees had been set out, many acres of land planted and seeded. Prior to the completion of the canals the trees were watered by hand from wells.

Out of the large number of arrivals this season, not more than fifty had deserted the enterprise, the greater part of these selling out their interests and returning to their Eastern homes, or emigrating to other parts of the country. By the last of June about one hundred and thirty houses had been erected and a number of farms put under tillage. These facts show that a large amount of work had been done in the short time since the first installment of colonists arrived. The town had been established upon a firm and enduring basis, and the germs of various industries introduced. The results accomplished demonstrate the energy and good will which actuated the majority in their determination to reclaim the waste places of nature. Let the

reader imagine the circumstances and the apparent inhospitable conditions under which they began. If acquainted with the thrift and comfort of New England homes he will readily comprehend the vast difference between such scenes and the austere desolation of the Cache la Poudre Valley in its natural state, before a house had been built, a tree planted, or an acre plowed. Even the elements were against them, everything was new, the forms and methods of cultivation untried. The settler of to-day to whom the way has been opened and made comparatively clear, will easily comprehend that great courage was necessary to carry these pioneers over the difficulties that met and opposed them on every hand.

About the middle of October, 1870, Horace Greeley himself, the patron saint of Union Colony and the greatest of American journalists, arrived in Denver via the Kansas Pacific and, by invitation, delivered his famous lecture on "Self Made Men," to a large audience assembled in the Lawrence Street Methodist Church. He prefaced the same with a few personal observations relating to his first visit to the Rocky Mountains in 1859, immediately after the discovery of gold by John Gregory, and his gratification at the marked advance of Western settlement since that time. A day or two later he went down to observe the progress of the town which bore his name, and which he had been so largely instrumental in founding, where he was enthusiastically welcomed. The platform of the railway station was crowded with colonists, the town as profusely decorated in his honor as its limited resources would permit. Those who had flags displayed them, and all manifested in their several ways the joy that inspired them over the arrival of their leader. A stage or rostrum had been erected in the town, to which, after the first greetings, the committee conducted him, when looking down over his spectacles upon the multitude of ardent admirers he related his experiences in pioneering and farming on the prairies of Illinois and elsewhere. He believed the location of this colony had been wisely determined, the soil greatly superior to that of the Salt Lake valley where the Mormons had accomplished the transformation

of the desert into blooming gardens. He was a little apprehensive, however, that the colonists had given too much attention to their town and not enough to the chief business of farming. He had hoped to see fewer houses in Greeley, and more upon the neighboring lands. It was there that the greatest effort should have been made, since the town must depend for its growth and maintenance upon the products of the soil. While all the results for which he contended came in good time, it was evident that he felt somewhat disappointed over the lack of agricultural development. But as we have seen, the colony lost nothing in the course of events by establishing and fortifying its beautiful central station. It had come late, and before much could be done with agriculture, water had to be provided, fences built and dwellings put upon the various subdivisions. The preliminary work consumed the first year, but in the second and each ensuing season the business of husbandry received its full share of attention. The venerable Horace gave the settlers much fatherly advice regarding the management of the colony; the importance of working in harmony for mutual benefit; advocated the organization of Farmers' Clubs, and pointed out many ways whereby, rightly pursued, their prospects would be materially brightened.

Notwithstanding the criticism passed upon the initiatory movements, it was apparent that he was deeply moved by the heartiness of his welcome and the reverential respect exhibited toward him by the people. Farther examination caused him to see things in a better light, and satisfied him that the colony had been well founded and would endure the shocks of time.

But one saloon was ever opened within the colony lines, and that in the first year of its existence. It happened in this way, as related by an eye witness: On Sunday morning of October 23d, 1870, a German dealer in beer and other intoxicants, who had been doing business in the town of Evans four miles above, where the sale of liquors was not prohibited, concluding that the people of Greeley only needed a reasonable opportunity to abandon their teeto-

talism, went down and established himself in an old adobe building on a ranch within the colony lines, displayed his "wet groceries," and patiently awaited his customers. This building had been erected by one of the first settlers in that region. Certain persons, whether members of the colony or not is of no material consequence, took occasion to patronize the bar rather freely in the morning hours, and afterward attended church services, where the matter soon became generally known that an intruder, in direct and defiant violation of the laws in such case made and provided, had entered upon the sacred limits devoted to temperance and godly virtues, and begun the sale of liquid damnation. Before, or immediately after the benediction from the pulpit, a committee was appointed to call upon the saloon keeper and remind him of the error of his ways. A crowd soon gathered about him. The committee quietly but firmly insisted upon the removal of his contraband goods to the point whence they came, anyhow outside the Union lines. He replied that, having leased the premises for a certain period, he proposed to stay there. The committee entertained different views, issue was joined, but the outcome was by no means doubtful. The door of his place was instantly closed and locked by the committee, who, desirous of avoiding violent demonstrations, renewed their argument. The German told them he had paid two hundred dollars for his lease, and it was unjust to turn him out neck and heels without some sort of compensation. The committee finally proposed to pay him the amount. Meanwhile others of the attendants had broken into the place and set it on fire. The committee extinguished the flames, but they broke out again and again until at length the cabin was burned to the ground. This proved an effectual settlement of the question, and thus ended the first and only attempt to trample upon and overturn one of the fundamental and unalterable laws of this sturdy little community.

It is only necessary to add at this time, since the subject will be resumed at a later stage of our history, that the first colony located in Colorado continued to flourish with the passing years until it became

a noble monument to the wisdom, honesty and industry of its founders. In all the West there is no finer example of the benefits accruing from well ordained colonization. The builders of this admirable structure understood human nature, and the better methods of its direction under such an association of elements as were here brought together, and while they may have committed numerous errors in working out the details, the result has, so far, exceeded the highest expectations formed of the experiment by the original members.

The town has grown and prospered, each member lending his best endeavors toward the common desire to make it beautiful. Many of those who came with only moderate possessions have been enriched, while the fortunes of all have been advanced to a greater degree undoubtedly than could have been anticipated from the same number of years of application to like avocations in the States whence they emigrated. The greater part of the lands are under splendid cultivation and the annual fruitage is of such quality and magnitude as to render it one of our chief sources of supply for farm and dairy products. Nowhere in the West are seen prettier homes or more widespread peace and contentment. While several other enterprises of a similar character were instituted in the same and succeeding years, not one has attained the same degree of excellence through like influences—unaided by corporations.

In the spring of 1870 a colony, almost wholly composed of Germans, was organized in the city of Chicago by Carl Wulsten, and located in the Wet Mountain Valley, in what is now Custer County. During the first season some improvements were made, and about one hundred and twenty-five acres of land plowed and seeded; a colony garden of thirty acres was also provided. Each family had a household garden fifty by one hundred feet. Something over one hundred families, and about thirty single men were located the initial year, but it has never been remarkably prosperous, owing in the first instance to frequent and very bitter dissensions among the members, but principally due to the want of administrative capacity by the leader, Wulsten.

No great irrigating canals were constructed in Colorado prior to 1870. I do not mean to be understood that none were constructed, for that would be untrue, but rather to convey the idea that in comparison with the colossal enterprises now employed, the few then known were but mere threads upon the broad face of the plains, the small and simple beginnings of what is now one of the most extensive and complete systems of artificial waterways on the American continent, for we have surpassed Mexico, California and Utah in the length, breadth, depth and capacity of such canals. For the first two years the country districts were in the main poor, thinly settled, and groping in darkness, making but indifferent progress in their search for light to guide them to the finer intricacies of cultivation under new and strange accessories. The sun rose every morning on schedule time, smiled benignly upon them in almost perennial splendor; the elements rarely frowning, still more rarely weeping. Canals could not be built by individual effort; it must be done either by large combinations of farmers, or by strong corporations supported by unlimited capital, and made a distinct branch of the business. How to irrigate the uplands, even when furnished with water, was unknown to the great majority. It was not difficult to manage the narrow strips of bottom land along the streams to which the bulk of production was confined, but the vast unwatered plateaus adjoining presented difficulties which they were unable to overcome, and these were seen to be the true great fields of the future. Even after capital had supplied the remedy, the details of the problem had to be worked out by incessant application and close observation of the effects produced by too much or too little water in the furrows, each crop requiring different treatment. They were without knowledge, precedents or guides, and like the primitive miners, each was compelled to master the details by slow and costly experimenting. Meanwhile, the people in the towns and cities, especially in the northern division of the Territory, were forced to look elsewhere, mainly to Kansas and Nebraska for hay, corn, wheat and oats. But at the close of the first decade, the knowledge acquired, and the waterways built, had

prepared the way for the incoming thousands who took up lands on all the streams and diverted them into auxiliaries for the further expansion of husbandry. The business of supplying water soon thereafter fell into the hands of monopolies whose exactions created in the ensuing years a vast amount of litigation.

Tree planting and fruit culture began to develop about the year 1863, but no success worthy of mention attended these efforts until about the year 1869, when the numerous cultivators began to comprehend something of the proper methods. This observation is more directly applicable to the experiments conducted with trees and vines, for with irrigation rightly applied there was little difficulty in producing small fruits. In 1870-71 the trees and vines began to bear, and thenceforward by attentive watching and the frequent interchange of views and experiences between the farmers in their granger clubs, the pursuit of horticulture became steadily progressive, though beset by many disasters and failures. The greatest triumphs were achieved in the particularly favored region about Cañon City in Fremont County, where the geniality of the climate and the peculiar adaptability of the soil, with, perhaps, a clearer apprehension on the part of the fruit growers, rendered the experimental period less tedious and harrassing. It is there that the more striking advances have been made, and the larger harvests gathered. It has been justly designated the fruit garden of the State, and it will doubtless maintain its prestige throughout the future. It is astonishing to see the magnificent fruitage which the still young trees and vines bring forth with each recurring season. In the spring the atmosphere all about this charming valley is redolent of the rich perfume of myriad blossoms, and the scene made one of transcendent loveliness. In the summer when the fruits are ripening, the branches have to be supported by strong props to prevent their destruction by breakage of the heavily burdened stems. However, scenes like this, entrancing to the senses, as they are, wherever seen, are not confined wholly to Cañon City and its environs. Wherever like care has been given to fruit culture, similar results have appeared, though in some

localities it has taken a longer time to secure them. Though the people of the State are now, and for years—indeed ever since the completion of the Union Pacific railway—have been largely dependent upon Salt Lake City and California for their supplies of domestic fruits, the progress made and making by our own horticulturists, will, in the procession of the cycles, render us comparatively independent of foreign sources, in the matter of apples, grapes, pears and plums. The quality of the fruits raised here is equal to the best produced elsewhere, and while we may forever lack some of the varieties which are so lavishly furnished by our neighbors of the Pacific slope, and by the well matured orchards of Southern Kansas, there is reason to hope that we may be able to reduce the annual outflow of money for the staples when the industry shall have been further developed.

Until after 1870-71, the city of Denver, now when viewed from any of the surrounding heights, apparently seated in the midst of a forest, was almost wholly destitute of trees and shrubs. It was idle to plant them unless they could be freely watered until deeply rooted, and there was no water for the purpose. I well remember a trip to Salt Lake City in the summer of 1869, soon after the completion of the great national highway, when I obtained my first view of a Pullman palace car and of the City of the Saints. How beautiful the chief city of the Mormons appeared, as the coach bore us up from Uintah station to the splendidly shaded streets of the modern Zion. The blooming gardens laden with fruitage, the aspect of bounteous plenty which met the eye on every hand, the cool green lawns and all the evidences of perfected cultivation, were in such marked contrast to the treeless and literally parched brown plains within and without the city of Denver, it seemed a veritable paradise of luxury and beauty.

The work of setting out trees along our streets came to be very general in the spring of 1870, mainly young cottonwood saplings, taken from the borders of the Platte River, arrangements having been made by the council with the owners of the Platte Ditch to supply water for them. Each thoroughfare from Broadway down to Larimer street,

and on Fifteenth and Sixteenth to Blake, was fringed with cottonwoods. As business advanced further and further southward along these parallels the trees were cast out, and much of the beauty of the city has been thereby destroyed. The architects in their desire to exhibit their handiwork in the erecting of beautiful buildings, have robbed nature of its richest jewels. Where the Tabor Opera House now stands was once the beautiful home of Mr. A. B. Daniels, surrounded with emerald lawns and filled with blossoming trees and shrubs, altogether one of the loveliest homesteads in the city. It seemed the grossest vandalism to destroy this charming picture of exquisite taste and homelike comfort, merely to plant thereon a vast monument of brick and stone.

To-day, the city of Denver by the multiplication of the better accessions of modern civilization is a far more picturesque and beautiful metropolis than Salt Lake City, five times more populous, and, it is needless to add, no longer in unfavorable contrast to the capital of Utah.

The Chicago-Colorado colony established the town of Longmont in Boulder county, about the first of March, 1871. Its members were mostly Western men. The location comprised fifty-five thousand acres, purchased from the National Land Company, of which William N. Byers was the resident manager. The lands selected embraced the tracts watered by the St. Vrain, the Boulder and Left Hand Creeks, whose sources are in the lofty eminences of the Snowy Range. They are partly watered, also, by the Little Thompson, and extend out from the base of the mountains a distance of about twenty-five miles. The town is situated near the center on the north bank of the St. Vrain, and adjoining on the north the previously established town of Burlington, which Longmont ultimately absorbed.

On the date named, according to the records, about twenty of the colonists were on the ground actively engaged in laying the foundation of their settlement. The name Longmont appears to be a composite, from Long, in honor of the discoverer of the majestic peak under whose shadow the miniature city rests, and the French *mont*, or mountain. It stands upon a bluff sloping gently toward the St.

Vrain, an affluent of the Platte. Toward the south and east there are broad and fertile bottom lands, and beyond toward the Boulder an undulating plain. To the west is the stupendous snow-capped Sierra Madre, with its ever changing hues and incomparable cloud effects. The whole prospect is one of great beauty and attractiveness.

The projectors and members of this colony met in the city of Chicago on the 9th of March, 1871, to hear the final report of the locating committee. In the absence of the President, Vincent Collyer, William Bross, ex-Lieutenant Governor of Illinois, presided. The chairman of the locating committee, Mr. H. D. Emery, then editor of the "Prairie Farmer," stated that himself and associates, in visiting Colorado, first made a very full examination of Union Colony at Greeley, and stimulated by this notable example, which they heartily approved in its essential details of organization and management, they began searching for an equally eligible site with the result already mentioned. Mr. Byers being present, was introduced, and subjected to searching catechism respecting the climate, nature and productions of the soil, methods of irrigation, diversity of crops producible, markets, other settlements, experiences of the settlers already here, in short, everything pertaining to the prospects of the proposed colony. Being conversant with all the matters on which the meeting desired to be enlightened, he was prepared to answer its questions satisfactorily.

By the last of May, 1871, the records exhibited a very gratifying condition of affairs. One hundred and forty-three forty acre tracts had been located, and deeds issued to twenty ten acre tracts, five sixty-five acre subdivisions, three hundred and fifty-seven residence lots, and two hundred and seventy-four business lots. Fourteen miles of eight foot ditches had been constructed, with nine miles of four foot, and about twelve miles of side and lateral canals. The main ditch had been completed, and the water turned in along the streets of the town. Crops had been planted, and were in a flourishing condition.

Three hundred and fifteen memberships had been issued, and about three hundred and fifty adults were on the ground, including one

hundred and fifty families. Exclusive of farmhouses there were sixty buildings in the town. This, it will be conceded, was pretty rapid work for a beginning. As far as practicable the general plan of Union Colony was adopted in the distribution of lands and the organization of municipal affairs, but the plan has not been so rigidly observed in some of its material details. Situated in an exceedingly fertile region, connected with the principal markets by two lines of railway, the Colorado Central and the Denver, Utah and Pacific, Longmont has been greatly prospered. Its further history will be given in the second volume of this work.

In the fall of 1871 quite an extensive collection of Colorado products, agricultural and mineral, was made up and sent to St. Louis for display at the great annual fair held in that city, where, on account of their excellence, they attracted much attention. Judge Capron, then United States Commissioner of Agriculture, who was an interested examiner of the various exhibits, remarked that Colorado was the only Territory or State which returned to the department better wheat* than the sample that had been sent out. In other words, according to his experience, wheat deteriorated in every State and Territory except Colorado. This flattering tribute was by no means exaggerated nor unwarranted. The fame of our cereals extended to many States after opportunity for shipping them to the eastward by railways was afforded. The average yield per acre is, as a rule, greater than in any other State except California, but we have an advantage over all other countries in the size and fullness of the berry, owing to the presence of natural phosphates and to the fructifying influence of irrigation from our mountain streams, which in the spring-time and during the early part of summer come laden with rich vegetable mold, that, distributed over the grain fields, lends to them unequalled fertilizers. The dryness of the climate and the absence of drenching rains while the crops are ripening, is another cause.

* The wheat referred to was raised by Wm. N. Byers within the present limits of the city of Denver in 1862, and the sample is still preserved in the National Museum at Washington.

In the winter of 1871 Baxter B. Stiles, of Denver, sent two sacks of Colorado flour, then regarded as the finest in the world, to the proprietors of the Southern Hotel in St. Louis, both as a delicate compliment to them, and as an illustration of the perfection of Colorado agriculture. They finding it equal to all the claims made in its behalf, instead of converting it into bread for the use of their guests, sent the donation to the Merchants' Exchange, to be there exhibited to the connoisseurs of that association, and then sold at public auction for the benefit of the homeless poor of St. Louis. The members of the Exchange, appreciating both the motive and the superiority of the flour, made it the occasion of a spirited rivalry in bidding. Soon the excitement became infectious, the bids mounted to the fifties and then to the hundreds, until finally the two sacks were sold for four hundred and sixty dollars.

Colorado manufactured flour is especially well adapted for export to the humid States of the South, and to South American ports, because of its dryness. In the years since 1871 large consignments have been ordered from Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia, and many carloads have been sent to Pittsburg, New York and Boston. In the fall of 1872 several sacks were sent to the latter city and there exhibited on 'Change, which resulted in an order being sent to the "Rough and Ready Mills" at Littleton, for fifty carloads.

LEGEND OF MANITOU SPRINGS.

BY GEORGE F. RUXTON.—1847.

The Snakes, who, in common with all Indians, possess hereditary legends to account for all natural phenomena, or any extraordinary occurrences which are beyond their ken or comprehension, have of course, their legendary version of the causes which created in the midst of their hunting grounds these two springs of sweet and bitter water ; which are also intimately connected with the cause of separation between the tribes of "Comanche" and the "Snake." Thus runs the legend :

Many hundreds of winters ago, when the cottonwoods on the Big River were no higher than an arrow, and the red men, who hunted the buffalo on the plains all spoke the same language, and the pipe of peace breathed its social cloud of Kinnik-Kinnick whenever two parties of hunters met on the boundless plains—where, with hunting grounds and game of every kind in the greatest abundance, no nation dug up the hatchet with another because one of its hunters followed the game into their bounds, but, on the contrary, loaded for him his back with choice and fattest meat, and ever proffered the soothing pipe before the stranger, with well filled belly, left the village—it happened that two hunters of different nations met one day on a small rivulet where both had repaired to quench their thirst. A little stream of water, rising from a spring on a rock within a few feet of the bank, trickled over it, and fell splashing into the river. To this the hunters repaired; and while one sought the spring itself, where the water, cold and clear, reflected on its surface the image of the surrounding scenery, the other, tired by his exertions in the chase, threw himself at once to the ground, and plunged his face into the running stream.

The latter had been unsuccessful in the chase, and perhaps his bad fortune and the sight of the fat deer which the other hunter threw from his back before he drank at the crystal spring, caused a feeling of jealousy and ill humor to take possession of his mind. The other on the contrary, before he satisfied his thirst, raised in the hollow of his hand a portion of the water, and lifting it toward the sun, reversed his hand and allowed it to fall upon the ground—a libation to the Great Spirit who had vouchsafed him a successful hunt and the blessing of the refreshing water with which he was about to quench his thirst.

Seeing this, and being reminded that he had neglected the usual offering, only increased the feeling of envy and annoyance which the unsuccessful hunter permitted to get the mastery of his heart ; and the Evil Spirit at that moment entering his body, his temper fairly flew away and he sought some pretense by which to provoke a quarrel with the stranger Indian at the spring.

"Why does a stranger," he asked, rising from the stream at the same time, "drink at the spring head, when one to whom the fountain belongs contents himself with the water that runs from it?"

"The Great Spirit places the cool water at the spring," answered the other hunter, "that his children may drink it pure and undefiled. The running water is for the beasts which scour the plains. Au-sa-quua is a chief of the Shoshones; he drinks at the head-water."

"The Shoshone is but a tribe of the Comanche," returned the other: "Waco-mish leads the grand nation. Why does a Shoshone dare to drink above him?"

"He has said it. The Shoshone drinks at the spring-head; other nations of the stream which runs into the fields. Au-sa-quua is the chief of his nation. The Comanches are brothers. Let them both drink of the same water."

"The Shoshone pays tribute to the Comanche. Waco-mish leads that nation to war. Waco-mish is chief of the Shoshone as he is of his own people."

"Waco-mish lies; his tongue is forked like the rattlesnake's; his heart is black as the Misho-tunga (bad spirit.) When the Manitou made his children, whether Shoshone or Comanche, Arapahoe, Shian or Páiné, he gave them buffalo to eat and the pure water of the fountain to quench their thirst. He said not to one, drink here, and to another drink there; but gave the crystal spring to all that all might drink."

Waco-mish almost burst with rage as the other spoke; but his coward heart alone prevented him from provoking an encounter with the calm Shoshone. *He* made thirsty by the words he had spoken,—for the red man is ever sparing of his tongue,—again stooped down to the spring to quench his thirst, when the subtle warrior of the Comanche suddenly threw himself upon the kneeling hunter and, forcing his head into the bubbling water, held him down with all his strength until his victim no longer struggled, his stiffened limbs relaxed, and he fell forward over the spring, drowned and dead.

Over the body stood the murderer, and no sooner was the deed of blood consummated than bitter remorse took possession of his mind where before had reigned the fiercest passion and vindictive hate. With hands clasped to his forehead he stood transfixed with horror, intently gazing on his victim whose head still remained immersed in the fountain. Mechanically he dragged the body a few paces from the water, which, as soon as the head of the dead Indian was withdrawn, the Comanche saw suddenly and strangely disturbed. Bubbles sprang up from the bottom, and rising to the surface escaped in hissing gas. A thin vapory cloud arose and gradually dissolving, displayed to the eyes of the trembling murderer the figure of an aged Indian whose long, snowy hair and venerable beard, blown aside by a gentle air from his breast, discovered the well-known totem of the great Wau-kau-aga, the father of the Comanche and Shoshone nation whom the tradition of the tribe, handed down by skilful hieroglyphics, almost deified for the good actions and deeds of bravery this famous warrior had performed when on earth.

Stretching out a war club toward the affrighted murderer, the figure thus addressed him:

"Accursed of my tribe! this day thou hast severed the link between the mightiest nations of the world, while the blood of the brave Shoshone cries to the Manitou for vengeance. May the water of thy tribe be rank and bitter in their throats."

Thus saying, and swinging his ponderous war club (made from the elk's horn) round his head, he dashed out the brains of the Comanche, who fell headlong into the spring, which from that day to the present moment remains rank and nauseous, so that not even when half dead with thirst, can one drink of the foul water of that spring.

The good Wau-kau-aga, however, to perpetuate the memory of the Shoshone warrior, who was renowned in his tribe for valor and nobleness of heart, struck with the same avenging club a hard, flat rock which overhung the rivulet, just out of sight of this scene of blood; and forthwith, the rock opened into a round, clear basin which instantly filled with bubbling, sparkling water, than which no thirsty hunter ever drank a sweeter or a cooler draught.

Thus the two springs remain, an everlasting memento of the foul murder of the brave Shoshone and the stern justice of the good Wau-kau-aga; and from that day two mighty tribes of the Shoshone and Comanche have remained severed and apart; although a long and bloody war followed the treacherous murder of the Shoshone chief, and many a scalp torn from the head of the Comanche paid the penalty of his death.

The American and Canadian trappers assert that the numerous springs which, under the head of beer, soda, steamboat, springs, etc., abound in the Rocky Mountains, are the spots where his Satanic majesty comes up from his kitchen to breathe the sweet, fresh air, which must doubtless be refreshing to his worship after a few hours spent in superintending the culinary process going on below.

OFFICERS THIRD COLORADO CAVALRY.

This regiment was enlisted for one hundred days, during which it fought the battle of Sand Creek.

Colonel—George L. Shoup.

Lieutenant Colonel—Leavitt L. Bowen.

First Major—W. F. Wilder.

Second Major—Hal Sayr.

Third Major—S. M. Logan.

Surgeon—Sidney B. Morrison.

First Assistant Surgeon—Christopher P. Yates.

Second Assistant Surgeon—Caleb S. Burdsall.

Adjutants—J. J. Johnson, Samuel I. Lorah.

Quartermaster—D. P. Elliott.

Regimental Commissaries of Subsistence—Harper M. Orahood, Joseph T. Boyd.

Company A—T. G. Cree, Captain; C. L. Cass, First Lieutenant; E. B. Sopris, Second Lieutenant.

Company B—Hal Sayr, Captain (promoted to Major, H. M. Orahood succeeding); C. Hawley, First Lieutenant; Harry Richmond, Second Lieutenant.

Company C—W. H. Morgan, Captain; M. Wall, First Lieutenant; J. F. Wymond, Second Lieutenant.

Company D—D. H. Nichols, Captain ; A. J. Pennock, First Lieutenant ; Lewis Dickson, Second Lieutenant.

Company E—Alfred Sayre, Captain, J. J. Johnson succeeding ; Samuel H. Gilson, First Lieutenant ; O. Edson, Second Lieutenant.

Company F—Edward Chase, Captain, Joseph A. Fay, succeeding ; Charles Hains, First Lieutenant ; John L. Dailey, Second Lieutenant.

Company G—O. H. P. Baxter, Captain ; S. J. Graham, First Lieutenant ; Andy Templeton, Second Lieutenant.

Company H—Henry B. Williams, Captain ; Thomas E. McDonald, First Lieutenant ; Mariano Autobee, Second Lieutenant.

Company I—John McCannon, Captain ; Thomas J. Davis, First Lieutenant ; Henry H. Hewitt, Second Lieutenant.

Company K—Adam L. Shock, Captain ; Wm. E. Grinnell, First Lieutenant ; Joseph T. Boyd, Second Lieutenant.

Company L—J. F. Phillips, Captain ; O. M. Albro, First Lieutenant ; M. D. Balsinger, Second Lieutenant.

Company M—Presley Talbot, Captain ; Frank De Lamar, First Lieutenant ; Thomas Peck, Second Lieutenant.

INDEX.

A	PAGE.	PAGE.
Aborigines of Plains.....	169	Auraria—Founded..... 181
generic stocks of.....	170	survey of town site..... 182
Acequias Ancient—Remains of.....	87	growth of..... 217
Adobe Creek—Early settlers on.....	167	daring robberies in..... 222
Agassiz Prof.—Arrival of.....	464	status of in 1860..... 233
Agricultural College.....	526	consolidated with Denver... 250
Agricultural Society Fair of.....	399	Aztecs—Occupation of Mexico by..... 65
Agriculture—Development of.....	474	traditions concerning..... 81
paucity of statistics concerning.....	509	Aztec Language—Beauty of..... 83
Alexis Grand Duke—Arrival of.....	528	
American House—Built.....	450	
Anthony Scott J.—Testimony of.....	341	
talk of with Cheyennes.....	343	
Anthony, W. D.....	310	
secretary constitutional convention.....	367	
lays corner stone Arapahoe school.....	515	
Anti State League.....	383	
Appropriations—Early Territorial.....	516	
Arapahoe County—First election in.....	183	
state of society in.....	183	
Gov. Evans' donation of stock to.....	489	
Arapahoe Indians—Origin of.....	171	
first troubles with.....	104	
with Cheyennes declare war.....	327	
extent of outbreak.....	328	
Arapahoe Street School Building.....	514	
Arastras—First Constructed.....	204	
Archer, James A.—Arrival of.....	420	
address to Board of Trade.....	421	
establishes gas works.....	466	
Arkansas River—Spanish escorts to.....	88	
first discovery of gold on.....	97	
Arkansas Valley—Indian Battles in.....	159	
Ash Hollow—Battle of.....	356	
Ashley E. M.....	372	
takes charge Secretary's office.....	377	
Ashley, Gen. Wm. H.....	109	
Ashley, J. M.....	400	
Astor, John Jacob.....	108	
		B
		Baker, Jim..... 142
		character sketch of..... 150
		his fight with grizzlies..... 151
		present residence of..... 152
		Banks and Bankers—First..... 362
		Baptist Church—Early History of..... 407
		Barlow, Sanderson & Co..... 166
		Bassett, Peleg T.—Killing of..... 237
		Bates, Joseph E..... 518
		first administration as mayor..... 519
		Battery—First Colorado... 288
		Bayou Salado..... 167
		Beaver—Hunting for..... 111
		Beckwith, Lieut. E. G..... 134
		completes Gunnison's survey..... 140
		Beckwourth, Jim..... 117
		romantic career of..... 118
		his ranch on the Platte..... 180
		Beeger, Prof. Herman..... 443
		Bennett, H. P..... 241
		re-elected to Congress..... 269
		services in Congress..... 290
		great speech by..... 322
		Benton, Senator Thos..... 119
		speech on Fremont's survey..... 127
		Bent's Fort—Fremont's departure from..... 123
		strategic position of..... 134
		destruction and rebuilding of..... 165

PAGE.	PAGE.
Bents—The..... 163	Byers, Wm—observations in Santa Fé..... 107
William—Posts built by..... 164	establishes Rocky Mountain "News"..... 184
Charles—Tragic death of..... 166	carries Gregory gold to Omaha..... 194
Berthoud, E. L..... 223-427	prediction concerning railways..... 231
Bill Williams—Sketch of..... 124	challenged by Toni Warren..... 235
Black Hawk Quartz Mill..... 255	
Black Kettle—Letter of to Colley..... 333	C
surrenders prisoners..... 335	Cabeza de Vaca..... 18
council with at Camp Weld..... 338	captivity of and escape..... 19
Speech of in council..... 339	travels from Texas to Mexico..... 20
killed by Custer's troops..... 361	Cache la Poudre Cañon..... 412
Board of Trade, Denver—Organization of.... 420	California Gulch—discovered..... 251
officers of..... 421	nature of mines..... 251
addressed by George Francis Train..... 421	Cameron Simon..... 374
addressed by Usher and Carney..... 427	Cameron, R. A—Manager Fountain Colony... 505
banquet to legislature..... 450	manager Fort Collins colony..... 526
first annual meeting of..... 466	Campaign—First State..... 311
Boiling Spring Creek—Named by Long..... 112	Campbell, Robert..... 109
Bonds County—Proposition to vote..... 415	Cañon City—Founded..... 223
proposition submitted..... 426	penitentiary located near..... 450
voted to Denver Pacific R. R..... 428	development of town..... 477
Bonneville, Capt..... 109	fruit garden of State..... 544
expedition of..... 110	Captives—Treatment of by Indians..... 336
Boston & Colorado Smelting Works..... 441	burning alive..... 337
progress of..... 444	story of Mrs. Ewbanks..... 337
gold and silver product of..... 446	death of Cheyenne captives..... 338
Boulder County—Discovery of gold in..... 181	Capital—Of Territory Fixed at Denver..... 426
town of founded..... 185	commissioners to locate site..... 426
early mining..... 200	Carson Kit—Revisits Birthplace..... 116
first locators..... 225	guide to Fremont..... 121
adventures with the Indians..... 226	personal appearance of..... 147
growth of the town..... 475	sketch of his life..... 153
Bowles, Samuel—with Colfax..... 363	death of..... 160
Branch Mint..... 291	in council with Indians..... 253
Bridger Jim..... 109-148	Carson Kit—Town of..... 490
Broadwell House..... 234	Carter, T. J.—Proposition to Denver... 413
Brooks, Orson—Robbed by Footpads..... 469	Case, Gen. F. M..... 490
Bross, William..... 363	Castañeda—Narrative of..... 30
Browne, S. E..... 326-458	Catholic Religion—Adoption of by Pueblos.. 37
Brown, J. S..... 430	Catholic Church in Denver—Early History of.. 405
Brown, Aunt Clara..... 483	Cavanaugh, J. M..... 400
Buckskin Joe..... 203	Census—First U. S..... 267
Buell, Bela S..... 308	Central City..... 204
Buffalo Bill..... 456	Chaffee, J. B.—Banker..... 362
Burdall, Caleb S..... 447	elected to the senate..... 369
Bureau of Immigration—first..... 517	director U. P. R. R..... 411
effect of unwise advertising..... 518	return after three years' absence..... 452
Butterfield Overland Express..... 215	Chamber of Commerce—First organized..... 256
Overland Dispatch Co..... 392	Charles, J. Q..... 310
Butterfield, D. A.—new stage route .. 409	expounds law to Gov. Cummings..... 358
reception in Denver..... 410	Charters, Special—Prohibited by Congress .. 383
organization of company..... 410	Cheney, P. B..... 223

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Cherokee Indians—In Search of Gold.....	177	Cliff Dwellings in Morocco.....	57
Cherry Creek—Discovery of Gold in.....	145	C. O. C. and P. P. Express Co.....	214
first settlers on.....	179	Colfax, Schuyler—Secures Mails for Colorado..	244
great flood in.....	309	influence on organization of Territory.....	246
Cherry Creek Pioneer.....	184	arrival in Denver.....	363
Cheesman, W. S.....	436	Lincoln's message to miners.....	364
Cheever, D. A.....	373	second visit with friends.....	453
Cheyenne Indians—Migration of.....	171	excursion to South Park.....	455
Cheyenne—Town of Founded.....	418	message of warning sent to.....	457
interest in D. P. R. R.....	425	influence on settlement of Indian troubles..	461
Chicago Creek—First Mining on.....	189	Coal Measures—Hayden's opinion of.....	474
Chicago-Colorado Colony.....	546	Colorado—Historic period of.....	140
Chilcott, G. M.—Nominated for Congress.....	384	first settlers in.....	162
contest over and seating of.....	390	birth of progress in.....	174
services of in Congress.....	454	steps for organization of.....	245
Chinese—Arrival of.....	496	names suggested for.....	245
Chivington, J. M.—Arrival of.....	255	opposition of slaveholders to.....	246
commanding first regiment.....	275-287	origin of present name.....	258
military ability of.....	286	debate in senate on bill.....	259
nominated for Congress.....	310	slavery question, discussion of.....	260
ultimatum to Black Kettle.....	340	attempt to steal name of.....	261
reasons for going to Sand Creek.....	351	amendments to organic act.....	262
candidate for Congress.....	369	passage and approval of bill.....	263
Chouteau, Cyprian.....	117	appointment of officers.....	264
Churches—Early History of.....	403	bill for admission as a State.....	382
Cibola—Seven Wonderful Cities of.....	28	passage of same.....	400
Civil Order—Absence of.....	222	vetoed by Pres't Johnson.....	401
Civil Rights Law—Passage of.....	401	third bill introduced.....	401
Claim Jumping—In Denver.....	221	Colorado—Products in St. Louis.....	548
Clark, Geo. T.—Bank of.....	363	wheat, fame of.....	548
life and character of.....	398	great sale of flour in St. Louis ..	549
Clark, Gruber & Co.—Coining Mint.....	255	Colorado flour in Boston.....	549
Clayton, W. M.—President Board of Trade ..	466	Colorado & Clear Creek R. R. Chartered.....	394
Clear Creek—Early Mining on.....	203-227	line examined by U. P. engineers.....	395
Clear Creek County—Development of.....	479	prospects for construction.....	411
discovery of silver mines in.....	480	Colorado Central R. R.....	413
Cliff and Cave Dwellers.....	40	company organized.....	414
description of country.....	41	surveys of route.....	418
estufas and sacred fire.....	42	inauguration of work on.....	427
character of dwellings.....	43	annual meeting and election.....	466
implements and weapons.....	44	progress of the road.....	467
ruined towers.....	45	completed to Golden.....	497
remains on the Mancos.....	46	Colorado City—Founding of.....	181
ancient reservoirs.....	48	capital of Territory.....	292
ruins of Ojo Caliente.....	49	Colorado National Bank.....	397
on the San Juan.....	49	condition of in 1870.....	496
pictographic writings.....	50	Colorado Springs—Founding of.....	52
ancient pottery.....	51	development of.....	503
State should protect ruins.....	52	aided by D. & R. G. R. R.....	524
ruins on Shelley and Chaco Cañon.....	55	first houses erected in.....	525
crania as an evidence of origin.....	56	Colorado Volunteers.....	
report of Dr. Hoffman.....	56	First Regiment, history of.....	275-287

	PAGE.
Colorado Volunteers	
march to New Mexico.....	277
battle of Apache Cañon.....	279
battle of Pigeon's Ranch.	281
Colorado Volunteers	293
Second Regiment, history of.....	294-300
Cook, D. J.—Kills Ed. Franklin.....	469
Comanche Indians—Pursuit of.....	141
Comanche Indians—Of Texas.....	172
Commerce of the Plains—Rise of	102
general account of.....	103
Commerce—Of Colorado in 1866.....	392
Western, extent of 1858 to 1865.....	440
Conkling, Roscoe—Arrival of.....	464
Congress—Novel proposal to.....	219
Constitutional Convention—First.....	208
second.....	209
first regular	310
the session of 1865.....	367
constitution adopted.....	367
candidates for State offices.....	368
the Sand Creek ticket.....	368
Connor, Gen. P. E.....	357
Cornforth, J. T.....	429
Coronado—March of.....	29
Friar Marcos and his guide.....	29
entering Cibola.....	30
searching for Quivira.....	34
homes of the ancients how built.....	36
mode of living.....	36
habits and character.....	37
Costilla—Settlement of.....	137
Courts and Lawyers—in Gilpin County.....	229
Cozens, Wm. Z.....	228
Creighton, Edward.....	303
Criminals—Miners Punishment of.....	220
Crops—Yield and Price of in 1866.....	393
value of 1868 to 1871.....	510
Cummings, Governor A.....	369
character of.....	370
alienates Hebrews.....	370
declares war on State faction.....	371
abstracts Territorial seal.....	372
quarrels with Sec'y Elbert.....	372
record as purchasing agent.....	374
influence with the President.....	376
performances in campaign of '66.....	385
midnight message to President.....	386
theft of election returns.....	387
issues certificate to Hunt.....	389
investigated by Congress.....	390
resigns as Governor.....	392

	PAGE.
conduct of Indian affairs examined.....	402
Curtis, Gen. S. R.—Forbids peacemaking.....	341
Custer, Gen. Geo. A.—Battle with Cheyennes.....	361
attack on and death of Black Kettle.....	462

D

Davis, Jeff—Secretary of War.....	133
Delegates—To Congress.....	208-210
De Bourgmont—Expedition of.....	86
Defrees Wilkes.....	192
Denver—Organization of.....	182
first mayor.....	212
destroyed by fire.....	372
first telegraph line.....	304
threatened depopulation.....	406
railroad mass meeting	423
Indian outbreak of 1868.....	458
growth of in 1870.....	494
predictions of its future.....	520
defects in municipal system.....	521
Denver & Boulder Valley R. R.....	497
Denver Pacific R. R.—Inception of.....	422
officers and directors.....	424
Subscriptions to stock of.....	425
contracts for building.....	430
inauguration of work.....	431
capital stock and land grant.....	431
first annual election.....	433
passage of land grant bill.....	434
contracts taken to build.....	435
second annual election.....	486
road completed to Denver.....	489
Denver & Rio Grande R. R.—Organized.....	498
general review of enterprise.....	500
first rails laid.....	501
first trains appearance of.....	502
projected movement southward.....	505
completed to Pueblo.....	506
Denver & South Park R. R.....	434
Denver Vigilantes.....	430
Denver & Salt Lake—Contrasted.....	545
Denver Hall—Gambling den	233
Denver & Santa Fé Telegraph.....	453
Dieterman, Mrs.—Killed by Indians.....	458
Disasters—of 1863.....	306
Dodd, Capt. T. H.....	287
Dodge, Gen. G. M.....	360
examines Clear Creek route.....	395
Doniphan Col. A. W.....	128
conquest of Navajos.....	132
death of.....	133
Dougan Sam—Lynching of.....	470

	PAGE
Douglas, Stephen A.....	245
Downing, Jacob.....	241
heads company against Indians.....	459
Duel—First.....	216
second.....	234
Duel—Strange, in Park County....	235

E.

Early Explorers—Left no traces.....	89
Eaton, Isaac E.....	416
Eastern Division R. R.....	416
surveys for.....	417
conference with Col. Archer.....	420
arrival of Usher and Carney.....	427
financial status of company.....	432
line located to Denver.....	433
authorized to contract with D. P.....	434
contract to build road.....	435
progress of construction.....	490
harassed by Indians.....	490
grading from Denver eastward ..	491
road completed.....	492
prospects following.....	492
Elbert, Samuel—Proclamation by.....	325
calls for troops.....	360
correspondence with Cummings.....	374
resigns secretaryship.....	377
El Paso County—First Settlers in.....	180
Enabling Act—First.....	310
Episcopal Church—Early History of.....	404
Escalante and Garcia—Explorations by.....	88
diary of.....	90
Espinosas—Murders by.....	378
bloody career of.....	379
Eicholtz, Col. L. H.....	486
supt. of construction E. D. R. R.....	490
Erie—Town of, founded.....	497
Evans, John—Appointed Governor.....	272
first message of.....	293
candidate for the Senate.....	311
addresses Central City miners.....	317
his definition of miners' rights	318
warning in regard to Indians.....	325
preparations for war	326
correspondence with the departments....	328
turns Indians over to military.....	339
instructions to Major Colley.....	340
goes to Washington.....	341
elected to the Senate.....	369
reply to Johnson's veto.....	383
activity in railroad matters.....	409
letter to General' Dix.....	411

	PAGE.
proposition to Carter and Loveland.....	415
predictions of railroad center ..	423
elected president D. P. R. R.....	429
procures land grant.....	432
outlines system of railways.....	432
final meeting with U. P. directors.....	435
dinner to Coloradoans in Washington....	435
donates stock to Arapahoe County.....	435
Evans and Chaffee—Resignation of.....	465
Excursion Trains—arrival of....	496
Explorations—By La Lande.....	95
by Lewis and Clarke.....	99
by Lieut. Pike.....	99
Ezekiel, Capt. D. I.....	462

F.

Fairplay—Mines, discovered.....	228
Fauntleroy, Col. T. T.....	158
Festiniog Railway.....	499
Fillmore, Major John S.....	273
sketch of life and character.....	359
First National Bank—Organized.....	362
new directors of.....	398
condition of in 1870.....	496
Fitzpatrick, Thomas.....	109
Floods and Storms, 1863	306
Florida—Explorers of.....	17
Ford, Capt. James H.....	287
Ford, B. L.....	425
Forsythe, Gen. G. A—Terrible adventures of..	460
Foster, Prof. J. W.....	63
Fort Collins—Founding of	526
Fort Garland—When built.....	168
Fort Lancaster.....	169
Fort Laramie—Trading post.....	117
Fort Lupton.....	169
Fort Lyon	165
Fort Massachusetts.....	142
when built.....	168
Fort St. Vrain.....	169
Fort Wise.....	165
Fountain City—Founded	185
Fountain Colony.....	523
Fountain-qui-Bouille	180
Fowler, W. R.—Court of.....	478
Freight Tariffs—Early.....	305
Freight Rates—in 1868.....	437
in 1870.....	497
Fremont County—First Settlers in.....	166
Fremont, J. C.—Explorations of.....	114
ordered west.....	115
route pursued.....	116

	PAGE.
visits St. Vrain's Fort.....	117
observations en route.....	117
in Wind River Mountains.....	118
second expedition.....	119
camps on Cherry Creek.....	120
route to Arkansas River.....	120
camps at Manitou.....	121
advances to California.....	122
route to California.....	122
third expedition.....	123
fourth expedition.....	123
crosses Sangre de Cristo.....	125
route to California.....	126
fifth expedition.....	127
Fruit Culture—Development of.....	544
Fur Companies.....	100
Northwest Company.....	108
Missouri Company.....	108
Rocky Mountain.....	109
Fur Trade—Beginning of in Colorado.....	163
G.	
Gage, D. A.....	363
Gambell's Gulch—Discovery of.....	201
Gantz, John—Murder of.....	238
Garden of the Gods—How named.....	484
Gas Works—Attempt to establish.....	465
established by Col. Archer.....	466
Georgia Company—The.....	180
Georgia Gulch—Discoveries in.....	228
Georgetown—Contributes silver spike.....	489
Gilpin, William.....	119
elected major of volunteers.....	128
march after Navajos.....	130
great achievements of.....	132
appointed Governor.....	264
preparations for reception of.....	264
reception accorded.....	266
first official acts.....	267
preparations for war.....	271
drafts on treasury.....	271
effect on Secretary Chase.....	272
removal.....	272
biography of.....	273
candidate for Congress.....	289
Glen Eyrie.....	524
Gold—First Discoveries of.....	174
at head of Arkansas River.....	175
in the South Park.....	175
on Vasquez Fork.....	175
near Pike's Peak.....	176
on Crow Creek.....	176

	PAGE.
on Cherry Creek divide.....	177
Gold Mining—And Extraction in 1864-5.....	442
Golden City—Origin of.....	188
development of.....	223
town company organized.....	225
archives transferred to.....	389
Goldrick, Prof. O. J.—Arrival of.....	218
Gold Mines—Speculation in.....	307
sales of in New York.....	307
disasters following.....	309
Goodale, Tim.....	150
Gordon, Jim.....	237
kills John Gantz.....	238
captured by Middaugh.....	239
returned to Denver.....	240
trial and execution of.....	241
Gore, Sir George—Hunting Trip of.....	149
Graham, H. J.....	208
Grant, Sherman and Sheridan—Arrival of.....	453
Grasshoppers—Appearance of.....	449
Gregory, John.....	190
discovers gold in mountains.....	191
effect of good luck on.....	194
Gregory District—Organization of.....	205
Greeley, Horace—Arrival of.....	213
notes on Gregory mines.....	196
involuntary bath in Clear Creek.....	224
Greeley—Town of.....	532
Green Russell's Expedition.....	177
prospecting for gold.....	178
Greenhorn—Valley of.....	136
Greenwood, Col. W. H.—Arrival of.....	419
Guerrillas—Invade South Park.....	314
capture, trial and killing of.....	316
Gunnell, Harry.....	230
Gunnell Mine—Discoverer of.....	230
Gunnison, Capt. J. W.—Expedition of.....	134
survey for Pacific R. R.....	135
death of.....	138

H.

Hall, Frank—Nominated for Secretary.....	377
takes charge of office.....	378
attempted removal of.....	386
reappointed.....	467
Hallack, Charles.....	467
Hamilton Diggings—The.....	227
Hancock, Gen. W. S.—Arrival of.....	361
Hardin, W. J.—Advocates Suffrage.....	376
Hardscrabble—First Settlers in.....	168
Harrison, Charley—Sanguinary Career of.....	236
Hayden, Prof. F. V.....	454

	PAGE.
first geological survey.....	468
Hazen, Gen. W. B.—Arrival of.....	464
Heine, Col. M.....	465
Hernando De Soto	23
conquest of Florida	24
Highlands—Town of, organized.....	217
Hill, Prof. N. P	443
Hudson's Bay Co.—In Northwest.....	114
Huerfano—Early Spanish Posts on.....	87
Huerfano Butte—Gunnison's ascent of.....	135
Hughes, Gen. Bela M.....	215
construction of stage road.....	409
correspondence with E. D. Co.....	419
active interest in railroads.....	423
speech to Usher and Carney.....	428
Hungate family—Murder of.....	332
Hunt, A. C.—President of Vigilantes.....	240
leader of anti-State faction.....	369
nominated for Congress.....	384
appointed Governor.....	392
administration of.....	448
superseded by McCook.....	467
Hunters and Trappers—Character of.....	111
Hunters and Trappers—Canadian French.....	108
Hunters and Trappers—romances of.....	146

I

Idaho Springs.....	524
Immigration—of 1860	250
Indians—Characteristic traits of.....	64-65
traditions of.....	74
belief in Great Spirit.....	75
Spanish traders with.....	87
camps at head of Arkansas.....	96
hostility to trappers.....	122
scalp dance in Denver.....	252
battle with Utes	253
bearing toward emigrants.....	324
treaty of 1861, effect of.....	324
outbreaks foreshadowed.....	325
beginning of depredations.....	326
pledged to war	330
capture of women and children.....	332
tribes confederate	333
at Fort Lyon	341
bravery of squaws.....	356
treaty of peace.....	361
outbreaks renewed.....	361
outbreak of 1868.....	455
causes of.....	456
campaigns of Sheridan.....	456
battle with, by Forsythe.....	460

	PAGE.
raids in Larimer and Weld.....	461
Irrigation—first	192
development of.....	513
Iron Works—Founding of.....	475
blast furnaces, first.....	475
Irving, Washington—Expedition of.....	110

J

Jackson, W. H.—Account of cliff dwellings..	53
below Montezuma	54
in the Valley of San Juan.....	55
contemplated excavations.....	73
Jackson, George A.....	187
first discovery of gold.....	188
James' Peak	93
Jefferson Territory.....	209
Johnson, Andrew—Declines to admit State...	376
reasons submitted to Congress.....	376
veto of State bill.....	382
swinging round the circle.....	386
Johnson, Theron W.—Daring exploit of.....	459
Johnson, Major W. F.—Great speech of.....	424
speech to Usher and Carney.....	428
death of.....	429
Judicial systems in the mines.....	220
Judicial Districts—First.....	267
assignment of judges to.....	267

K

Kassler, George W.....	217
Kansas Legislature—Delegate to.....	208
Kansas Pacific R. R.—Inception of.....	393
interest of in Denver Pacific.....	486
Kearney, Gen. S. W.....	128
conquest of New Mexico.....	129
Kehler, Jack	228
Kelly's Bar—Discovered.....	250
Kiowa Indians—Range of.....	172
Kountze Bros.—Bankers.....	397
Knox, Thomas—In Golden City.....	225

L

Lambert, Clement.....	117
Lane, Geo. W.—Establishes mint.....	292
Langrishe, J. S.....	256
Larimer, Gen. Wm	182
candidate for Governor.....	264
Lawrence, Kansas—Emigrants from.....	180
Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express.....	213
Leavenworth—Fearful riot in.....	239
Leavenworth, Col. Jesse H	293
Lincoln, Abraham—Message to miners.....	364
plans for peopling the West.....	365

	PAGE.
Living—Cost of, in Colorado.....	305
Long, Major S. S.....	100
march to Rocky Mountains	101
march on the Arkansas.....	102
Longmont—Founded	546
development of.....	547
Lothrop, W. C.—Supt. of schools.....	513
Loveland, W. A. H.....	223
president constitutional convention.....	367
organizes railroad company	394
practicability of line	395
secures amended charter.....	410
prospects for building road.....	411
Lumber—First production of.....	184
Lyon, James E.....	363

M

Mails—Early condition of.....	213
efforts to establish.....	244
arrival of first regular.....	256
Manitou Springs—Fremont's camp at.....	121
Marcy's camp in.....	144
Indian reverence for.....	485
Ludlow's prophecy concerning	503
description by Nevins.....	504
Marcy, Capt. R. B.—Great march of.....	141
Marshall, Joseph M.....	475
Maynard, Geo. W.....	440
Medical Association—Formed.....	255
Medicine Lodge—Treaty of	361
Meeker, Ralph—Eloquent tribute of.....	513
Methodism—Early history of.....	403
Mexican War—Preparations for.....	128
Middaugh, W. H.....	239
assassination of.....	241
Miles, General—Battles with Indians	362
Mining—First, progress of.....	186
fruits of, in Gregory.....	198
original laws	205
progress of, in 1860.....	250
titles discussed.....	317
tax proposed.....	319
Congressional legislation.....	320
Julian's bill.....	320
opinion by E. T. Wells.....	321
proposed expulsion of miners	321
Mississippi—Exploration of.....	91
Moffat, D. H.—Arrival of.....	254
as telegraph agent.....	256
as adjutant general.....	360
elected cashier.....	363
to negotiate D. P. bonds.....	429

	PAGE.
locomotive named for.....	489
Monument Creek—Long's descent of.....	102
Moscogos' Western Expedition.....	24
Montezuma's Speech to Cortez.....	64
Moonlight, Col. T. M.—Declares martial law.....	360
Mound Builders—Antiquity of.....	70
Montana—First town built.....	179
Mountain City—Politics of.....	248
Musgrove—Lynching of.....	471
McCannon, John.....	379
after the Espinosas	380
McCook, E. M.....	263
appointed Governor.....	467
interview with Gov. Hunt.....	468
McClure, W. P.....	216
McDowell, Drake.....	234
McGaa, Wm.....	183

N

New Spain—Conquest of.....	27
News office—Attack on.....	242
Newspaper—First in mountains.....	204
Nevada—Early settlers in.....	202
organization of.....	229
Northwest Boundary.....	119
Northwest Territory—British occupation of... ..	114

O

Order—Social and religious.....	254
aid society organized.....	254
Oregon—Emigration to.....	105-115
Organic act—Amendment of.....	383
O'Fallon, Major.....	100
O'Neill, Jack—Death of.....	236

P

Pacific Railroad—Meeting in St. Louis.....	127
first surveys for.....	133
influence of our settlement on.....	232
amended charter passed.....	393
final location of line.....	396
Lone Tree route selected.....	412
branch to Denver.....	413
Palmer, Gen. Wm. J.—Arrival of.....	435
negotiations with Mexico.....	506
Pamfilio Narvaez—Expedition of.....	17
Panic of 1857.....	173
effect of on emigration.....	174
Park County—Early mining in.....	203
Paris Exposition—Commissioner to.....	441
Passenger Fares—in 1868	437
Pearce, Prof. Richard	444
Penitentiary—Location of.....	450

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Philbrick, Prof. John D.....	218	Pueblo, Growth incident thereto.....	508
Phillips' Lode—Richness of.....	203	Pueblo Indians—Towns of.....	31
Pierce, Arthur E.....	217	various expeditions to.....	32
Pierce, Gen. John.....	422	present condition of natives.....	38
plans for a railroad.....	424	religious belief	39
efforts in behalf of D. P. R. R.....	428	were they Aztecs or Toltecs.....	76
contracts with U. P. Co.....	429	traditions concerning.....	77, 78
negotiates with Dillon and Durant.....	430	superstitions.....	79
Pike's Peak—First Ascent of.....	102	population of towns.....	80
Pike's estimate of height.....	93	worship of serpents.....	80
Pike, Zebulon M.....	90	Pulmonary Diseases—Effects of Climate on.....	105
expedition of.....	91	Pullman, Geo. M.....	363
route up the Fountain.....	92	sleeping cars of.....	437
ascent of Shian Mountain.....	92	Pullman Palace Car—First Through.....	497
march up the Arkansas.....	94	Pursley James.....	97
crosses the Sangre de Cristo.....	94		
captured by Mexicans.....	95	Q.	
opinions of the plains.....	96	Quaternary Period—Existence of Man in.....	66
death in Canada.....	98	startling discovery in California.....	67
Pioneers—Part of in Western Progress.....	148	Mexican mummies.....	69
Pioneers' Association—First.....	396		
the organization of 1872.....	527	R.	
officers of.....	528	Railroads—First Steps for.....	224
Political Movements—Beginning of.....	206	transcontinental.....	230
Politics—Development of.....	289	meeting in Cole's Hall.....	413
Poncha Pass—Indian Trails in.....	137	proposition by Carter.....	414
Pony Express—Establishment of.....	215	Ralston Creek survey.....	450
Pont Neuf Cañon—Tragedy of.....	438	Rankin, Rev. A. T.....	255
Population—First Census of.....	256	Real Estate—Advance of.....	495
Porter, H. M.—Telegraph Constructor.....	303	Red Cloud—Sketch of.....	171
commissioner to sell bonds.....	430	Registry Law—First Enacted.....	450
Postal Routes.....	291	Republican Club—First.....	408
Prehistoric Races.....	59	Richardson, A. D.....	225, 363
antiquity of.....	60	Richmond, Geo. Q.....	507
studies of the ancients.....	61	Riley, Captain.....	101
Agassiz' opinions of.....	62	escorts Santa Fé trains.....	104
Presidential Electors—First.....	310	Rocky Mountains—First Discoverers of.....	22
Presbyterian Church—Early Annals of.....	406	first surveys in.....	138
Prospecting—Early Extent of.....	200	“Rocky Mountain News”—Established.....	184
Provisional Government—the.....	209	Roman Nose.....	329
first legislature.....	210	Rudd, Anson—Nomination of.....	310
standing of.....	248	hospitality to author.....	478
second election under.....	249	Russell's Gulch—Discovery of.....	199
Public Schools—in 1871-72.....	514	consolidated ditch in.....	200
Public Parks—Neglect to Provide.....	519	Russell, Wm. H.....	215
Public Debt—Fear of.....	520		
Pueblo—Fremont's Visit to.....	120	S.	
fort erected.....	167	Salazar, Dimasio—Fate of.....	107
massacre in.....	168	Salomon, Fred.....	429
Pueblo—Organization and Growth.....	476	Sand Creek—Events Leading to.....	323
condition at close of 1871.....	511	Indian camp on.....	342
first railroad built to.....	507	battle of.....	346
		testimony concerning.....	347- 350

	PAGE.
general review of.....	351- 355
subsequent effect of	359
Sangre de Cristo—Gunnison's Crossing.....	136
San Juan Mountains—First Explorers.....	89
Gilpin's adventures in.....	130
mining excitement in	256
San Juan Mines—Opening of.....	529
Santa Fé Trade—initial points of.....	105
original trail.....	106
Santa Fé—Kearney takes Possession of.....	129
San Luis Valley—Gunnison's Account of.....	135
first exploration of.....	137
Schofield, Gen. J. M.—Arrival of.....	469
Schools—Public, First.....	219- 255
Scudder, John.....	237
Secession—First Movements of.....	269
Confederate flag raised.....	270
attempt to capture Territory.....	275
Sedgwick, Col.....	165
Senators, U. S.—First Elected.....	369
Seward, Wm. H.—Arrival of.....	468
Sherman, Gen. W. T.—Arrival of.....	399
escorts Conkling and Agassiz.....	464
Sheridan and Custer—Arrival of.....	529
Shoup, Lieut. Geo. L.—on the Trail.....	315
Silver—Discovery of.....	256
mining, beginning of.....	480
Simmons, Philander—Narrative of.....	177
Slavery Question—Influence of.....	247
Sleeping Cars—First Patented.....	437
Slough, John P.....	270
Smelting—First Experiments in.....	447
Smith, John W.....	429
proposes to build smelters	467
Society—State of in 1859.....	207
Sopris, Richard.....	217
dispatch to Lincoln.....	265
prominence as a pioneer.....	523
South Park—Game in.....	110
prospecting in.....	227
invaded by guerrillas.....	313
Spanish Explorations.....	85
Spanish Bar.....	190
early courts of.....	481
Stage Lines—First Routes of	213
to Gregory mines.....	216
Stamp Mills—First.....	204
Stanley, Henry M.—Adventures of.....	522
State Convention—First	185
State Organization—Movement for	247
movement of 1862.....	292
State organized.....	310

	PAGE.
Enabling Act of 1865.....	366
legislature under.....	369
bills for admission	399
movement of 1867	448
fundamental conditions	452
State Constitution—Framing of	521
Steck, Amos—First Postmaster.....	214
first telegraphic message.....	304
protest against Cummings' Act.....	388
donation to public schools.....	515
Steele, George—Killing of.....	242
Steele, Governor—Message of.....	211
proclamation of surrender.....	266
Stewart, Robert—Adventures of.....	99
St. John's Church—Inception of.....	254
St. Louis—Early Population of.....	108
interest in Fremont.....	127
St. Vrain, Ceran	126
Indian battles of.....	158
Sublette, William.....	109
Suffrage, Negro.....	369
agitation of	375
first ballots cast by negroes	402
Sunday Schools—Organization of.....	218
Supreme Court—First.....	264
organization of.....	268
attorneys admitted to.....	268
under first State organization.....	310
Supplies—Cost of in 1859.....	211
Surveyor General's Office—First.....	291

T.

Tabor, H. A. W.....	252
Taos, Home of Carson.....	126
Tarryall Mines—Discovered.....	227
Tax on Mines—First Levied	212
Taylor, Bayard—Arrival of	399
Telegraph Facilities—First.....	256
completed to Pacific.....	302
first communications with Denver	303
first messages exchanged.....	304
extension to Fort Bridger	304
cost of messages	305
line built to Santa Fé	305
line to Cheyenne.....	434
Teller, Henry M.....	311
appointed Major General.....	326
chairman Territorial Committee.....	408
Territorial Legislature—First.....	268
second	292
Territorial Canvassers—Board of.....	387
Territory—Developments in.....	473

	PAGE.		PAGE.
growth in railway period.....	511	Wall, David K.....	192
government cost of.....	512	Wanless, John—Treasurer.....	387
value of property, 1871-2.....	512	War of Rebellion—First Signs of.....	265
Territorial Officers—Contingent Funds of....	516	War—Preparations for by Gilpin.....	270
Territorial Assessment—'71-'72.....	517	Weld, Louis Ledyard.....	264
Texas-Santa Fé Expedition.....	106	letter to Secretary Seward.....	268
Theaters—First.....	229	Wells, E. T.—On Mining Law.....	321
Theft—How Punished by Miners.....	481	West, George.....	223
Third Regiment—March of.....	345	establishes "Western Mountaineer".....	225
Thomas, W. R.....	451	Whale Lode—Discovery of.....	481
Tobins, Tom—Kills Espinosas.....	381	Wheat Culture—Inception of.....	218
Towne, Henry D.....	30	Whitney, J. P.....	440
Trail Run—Riot in.....	482	Whitsitt, Richard E.....	216
Train, Geo. Francis—Arrival of.....	421	in great peril.....	221
Transportation—Cost of in 1866.....	393	challenged by Warren.....	240
Tree Planting—In Denver.....	545	territorial auditor.....	387
Trinidad—Riot in.....	451	Williams, B. D.....	214
Troops—Organization of.....	270	services as delegate....	249
U.		Wind River—Fremont's visit to.....	118
Union Colony—Founding of.....	53-542	Witter, Daniel.....	311
Union Sentiment—Manifestation of.....	270	Wood, Carroll—Career of.....	242
Union Pacific R. R—Sketch of.....	437	banishment of.....	243
Usher, J. P.—Arrival of.....	427	Wood, Fernando—Proposes to Expel Miners..	322
Ute Indians—Homes of.....	172	Woodbury, R. W.....	414
V.		Woodward, B. F.....	303
Vasquez Fork—Exploration of.....	190	Wolcott, H. R.....	444
Vasquez, Louis—Fort built by.....	169	Woolworth and Moffat.....	217
Vigilantes.....	236	Wulsten Colony.....	542
pursuit of Jim Gordon.....	239	Wynkoop, E. W.....	334
capture of Frank Williams.....	439	Y.	
Dougan and Musgrove lynched by.....	471	Young, Wm.—Execution of.....	236
W.		Yucatan—Ancient Temples in.....	71
Waggoner, Capt. S. W.....	269	Z.	
tribute to memory of.....	301	Zunis and Moquis.....	52
		Zunis—Traditions Preserved.....	82

